

PRESIDENT'S SECRETARY'S FILE:

Diplomatic Correspondence w/Germany: William E. Dodd: 1933-35

October 13, 1933

Dear Mr. President:

After the long delay in my official recognition here, the engagements for public appearances piled up a little. Oct. 5, I spoke before American Society here on the Dilemma in the United States, and on October 12, Columbus day, I used the occasion to point out the hazards of arbitrary and minority government under the subject of Economic Nationalism. Since some criticism has been cablet and by some of the Hearst press people and thinking, therefore, that some embarrassing interpretations



may have been put out at home. I  
taking the liberty of enclosing verbatim  
copies. In case you do ever get time to  
rest yourself by reading (as I have the  
habit of doing), I hope you will look over  
these pages.

I was informed beforehand that  
members of the Foreign and Economic  
ministries would be present; and con-  
sequently, I grouped subjects of my  
discussion so that all industrial countries  
might have due attention. I also endeavored  
to be absolutely non-partisan as between  
countries, giving Germany a little less  
implied criticism than any other. The  
result was in both cases extraordinary  
approval of German's present, as also of  
our own business people. Copies of  
this were supplied to German as well as  
our own press. As the second address

has to be attended by <sup>Dr</sup> von Schacht and others of the Reichsbank and Foreign Office, I submitted this to Counselor here (very strongly protocol) and he agreed that no one anywhere would reasonably take offense. And would add that von Schacht publicly agreed and applauded extravagantly and all other Germans present. I have never noted more unanimous approval. Nearly all the press here (except extreme Nazi organ which ignored occasion) gave fair and favorable comment next day. My interpretation of this is that all liberal Germany is with us - and more than half of Germany is a heart liberal.

Pardon so long a story. In case State Department protocol people make complaint, I wish you to know that it was my purpose to put forward in best way possible American ideals as you, Wilson, Lincoln and Jefferson interpreted them. It is my view that Europe, especially eastern Europe, needs to have American principles put before their peoples as clearly as possible - the educated and even uneducated people are in the main with us, only they are forbidden to say anything.

This has been the hardest day I have yet had here. The Kanzler and the cabinet have been in session nearly all day. I am probably to know the outcome. I hope Germany is entering Geneva pact.

Yours sincerely, William E. Dodd

Address delivered by Ambassador William E. Dodd at American Club Dinner, Hotel Mayfair, London, October 5, 1938.

# THE DILEMMA IN THE UNITED STATES

There has lately been a parallel in nature between the nations which all industrial nations are now seeking to reach, and this fact, as well as the increasing interest of us all in the world's affairs, is being brought to the attention of the United States and other nations which other people have not; it is under these conditions which hardly exist elsewhere.

## I

There is no twenty-year feud between the United States and any powerful rival; and there are vast stretches of empty lands for the unemployed who have the energy to go to them. And for more than a hundred years our population has been more mobile than that of any other country. Yet it may be doubted whether economic recovery there will be earlier than in Germany, for the circumstances are peculiar. To understand these, I venture a brief survey of the trans-American relations: The real significance of the discovery of America for Europe was first shown to what, now known and the exploitation of enormous natural resources. In all the war-produced crises of the past, the acute conditions of the starving Europeans, amidst at great risk in overcrowded boats to the new land. The production of agricultural products in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries resulted even greater success of "underdogs" for American development. The North American part of the new world then

Source:

became a sort of "prerogative" for the ambitious and unemployed: there every freeman who could pay his way across the Atlantic and fifty to a hundred acres of wild land crossed with game, for his temporary support; and the still greater number of indentured servants who crossed the ocean were likewise guaranteed free homesteads at the end of their terms of service. Nor was it possible for European overlords of America to deny their emigrating folk that personal liberty which all rational men demand, laws and regulations restraining men's freedom simply could not be enforced. There was a great moral force in all western economic life till free lands in the United States were exhausted in 1893. The absence of this factor is a basic cause of the unprecedented disaster which now surrounds us all.

## III.

Another and a stronger influence operates now to thwart efforts at recovery everywhere. Since 1870 the sense of personal independence on the part of the masses of urban folk has declined. Amusing inventions and the changing tastes and desires of men have set new standards. One must live in a city and to be a decent citizen. He loves the roar and racket of the factory, the crowded street and the baseball field; he must look at the movie screens as often as possible, and ride on the crowded trolley on Sunday to dissociate the misfortune of his degenerate cousin who still labors on the land. The city worker prefers an attic in a crowded, filthy "East or West Side" to the independence of a country

home with family, friends and animals about him. The daily paper and the radio hardly suffice. The idea that the ownership of a stretch of land makes one free and even aristocratic hardly exists anywhere. For a thousand years ownership of land was a title to distinction. And since half the people of the United States and three-fourths of those of Germany live in the city, most of whom would rather beg their bread on the streets than earn it on the land, President Roosevelt and Chancellor Hitler have a second and basic hostile force to deal with. There is no more free land and few people would take it if there were.

Of equal importance is the strange practice of all nations in barring their gates against immigrants and foreign goods. One of the causes of this attitude these last decades is the natural jealousy of organized labor everywhere, especially in the United States. The leaders of organized workers think of applying the same privilege for themselves and their supporters that the directors of great corporations have demanded for themselves - monopolize of the profits of the greater industries. Organized labor demands a dollar an hour for urban workers, while its leaders are quite content that the country worker receives only a dollar a day.

This demand of organized labor, supported by organized business, has resulted in industrial states closing their doors to immigrants and to outside goods. These working people forget that immigrants free all the more advanced nations invariably take their savings with them, put these savings to work in the new country and thus help

set the mills to going. Although an immigrant on a small farm might reduce the home demand for foodstuffs, he would increase the demand for industrial goods, and the increased demand for urban goods causes a growing consumption of farm products in the cities. The immigrant of past epochs who abandoned his country and took his savings to a new land reduced unemployment at home, added to steamship and railway activity on his way west, set up new demands for imported goods in the new habitat and thus helped all parties to recovery from historic depressions: 1819-1840, 1873-1877. At the present moment all industrial countries are closed to immigrants and heavily taxed against freedom of travel. How difficult it is to cross international borders today! With trade unavailable, unacceptable, and the movement of population almost prohibited, the present depression is more fixed than those following the Napoleonic, the Civil and the Franco-Prussian wars.

Two other unprecedented limitations to worldwide recovery are obvious: 1. The industrialization of England, the United States, Germany and France has been paralleled with a most extraordinary application of machines to production. This has, during recent decades, released hundreds of thousands of workers per year. Even in 1932-33 there were two million unemployed in the United States. 2. Since 1870 the effect of machine production and urban conditions of life has been a declining birth rate, while more and better physicians have prolonged the average of life so that people are no longer advised to take chloroform at sixty. There are four times as many people over sixty years of age as

formerly.

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formerly; and they show no disposition to get out of the way of their younger fellows. The best authorities on social statistics say that in 1970 the populations of all industrial countries will begin to decline, if present influences continue; and there will be increasing numbers of unemployed and of decrepit folk who pay doctors good fees to keep them alive.

Finally, under modern individual and corporate franchises, we have built vast canal systems at a cost of millions of the popular savings. These canals were promptly paralleled by railroads which took away their traffic - witness the Erie and the Pennsylvania canal systems. Then the railroads were in large measure antiquated by motor cars, buses and trucks; and now the flying machine receives vast governmental grants for taking the mails away from the railroads which also receive heavy conventions not to let the flyers have their pouches. Moreover, the railroads focused their traffic in a few great centres; they did this contrary to popular opinion. This increased the value of urban land a hundredfold. The effects of these and other influences centered all great industry and world finance in the same favored cities; and railway, bank and other structures of the industrial age, masters of world centres, assumed airs of ancient monuments and raised skyscrapers almost beyond mortal vision, which a visit to New York will amply reveal. The result was the sale of something like a hundred billions of railway, industrial and skyscraper stock to a misguided public - a speculation which had no substantial basis of real property. The earning power of the masses was

sharply

exactly unequal to the payment of promised dividends. The people of the United States thus carried an unseparable load of worthless, fraudulent debt in 1933. I suspect other industrial peoples bore similar burdens. And even more amazing, American industrialists raised import duties in 1932 and again in 1933 to levels which almost closed their markets to the outside world. And having barred imports, they loaned Europeans and Latin Americans billions of dollars so they could buy American exports. They would ruin other peoples and then lend the ruined peoples money to buy goods and put more bad securities on their own market!

There had never been anything like this in all known history. The collapse of 1929 was predicted and warned against by the most eminent economic and historical authorities everywhere. Governmental authorities gave no heed.

It was the end of the era. The free lands of three centuries were gone; the right of peoples to migrate from country to country was abolished; there was no longer a semblance of free trade; and when outstanding statesmen sought to associate all the differing peoples in a co-operative economic life and suchism were at the cause of the greatest disasters, there were great outcries of opposition. All the old co-operative forces were gone and nobody was willing to introduce new ones.

### III.

After four years of unprecedented disaster; after

1933

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Samuel Insull's two-billion-dollar holding company collapsed and he had hastened away on a flying machine; when other vast corporation values shrunk from three-fourths to nine-tenths of former values, millions of small investors were in desperate straits, there came a national election. It gave unprecedented majorities in nearly all the States to Franklin Roosevelt - a leader of the party of Thomas Jefferson which had come back to life at a most critical moment. What could be done?

The Federal Constitution is a balanced instrument of great divided powers, and all executive functions are subject to legislative and judicial approval. Only in time of war may a President take prompt and decisive action, Lincoln violated the Constitution to save the Union, and Wilson sometimes transcended his powers for the obvious common good, though actual violations of the fundamental law were not a part of his practice. Might men interpret the events of March 1933 as warlike?

In the chaotic situation, with banks closing their doors everywhere, President Roosevelt acted as if he were in a state of war. He declared a bank holiday and hastened the assembling of congress. Excitement was everywhere as great as in 1917. Senators and Representatives recognized the urge of the hour; but they also felt the pull of the American Legion and the pressure of local demands. It was a situation which legislators are apt to convert into an impasse, witness the paralytic times of Andrew Jackson and Grover Cleveland when all Presidential action was defeated. But Roosevelt had converted his long struggle for recovering

his health into a ten-year study of history and economics. He had learned how men behaved in past crises.

He held conferences with the greater committees of both houses of Congress; he consulted experts on subjects on which expert opinion was needed; he coaxed hostile newspaper folk to delay their opposition; and he appointed appointments to ten thousand offices in which were politicians were interested. It was a human picture, a Jefferson urging Southerners to abolish slavery, lest they themselves be abolished; a Wilson urging war to end war. And Roosevelt was successful. A banking law was enacted which gave the Federal Government powers which must paralyze all state systems. A control over the issue of securities was enacted which would probably have prevented the depression if applied in 1921-22. The farmers of the East were told in legal form how much wheat they might plant; and cotton growers were ordered to plow up ten million acres of the 1923 crop. If railroads were to operate, their managers must submit to orders from the White House. The whole economic life of the country was taken in hand upon mandates voted by both houses of Congress. There had never been anything like it before; but some way to recovery must be sought, else even greater catastrophes than that of 1909 might come. It was not revolution as men are prone to say. It was a popular expansion of governmental powers beyond all constitutional grants; and nearly all men everywhere hope the President may succeed. If he is able to put half the unemployed back to work; if the new banking law and corporation control yield half the desired results, the cause of democracy and personal liberty may survive the onslaughts of our times.

Address delivered by Ambassador  
William E. Dodd at Luncheon of  
American Chamber of Commerce in  
Germany, Berlin, October 18, 1933.

ECONOMIC NATIONALISM

I.

In times of great stress men are too apt to abandon too much of their past social devices and venture too far upon unchartered courses. And the consequence has always been reaction, sometimes disaster. With the breakdown of the old Roman democracy after the enormous success of the Punic Wars, great group leaders contending for personal and group advantages brought the Republic to the verge of collapse. Then a Caesar rose, asserted autocratic powers and for a time stabilized society. The great fact so appealed to Gibbon that he wrote the masterpiece of all historical work. He overlooked or under-emphasized the cruelties and the outside exploitation of his golden empire. I allude to this because human governmental and economic combinations have always appeared under a few patterns and both philosophers and politicians waver and hesitate between the models offered in a Cato, a Gracchus or a Julius Caesar and the ideals which these figures connote. There are not many forms of human association - though many new names have been invented from time to time. Half-educated statesmen today swing violently away from the ideal purpose of the first Gracchus and think they find salvation for their troubled fellows in the arbitrary modes of the man who fell an easy victim to the cheap devices of the lewd Cleopatra. They forget that the Gracchus democracy failed upon  
the

the narrowest of margins and the Caesars succeeded only for a short moment as measured by the test of history.

## II.

As in ancient times, so in modern. When the Spanish dumping of shiploads of South American gold and silver per year into the medieval complex of economic Europe, and prices, wages and currency values got as much out of all control as they are today, men cast about wildly for remedies. There has rarely been more chaotic times in human history than those of the hundred years which followed the discovery of America and the religious reforms of Martin Luther. No nation's existence was half secure; no economic class rested upon a sure foundation; peasants wandered aimlessly about their countries, starving by the hundreds of thousands; and city proletariats were everywhere ready to turn pirates upon the seas or mercenary soldiers upon the land. When Queen Elizabeth died in 1603 England was confronted with imminent chaos, and forty-five years later France was in even worse plight, though victorious in the Thirty Years' War. We must not think our generation is the only one that has suffered from violent economic and social disruptions. The Puritan fathers thought to re-distribute the benefits of government and make England a model land; the Fronde rictors of France and Paris thought to anticipate the revolution of 1789.

## III.

Out of these chaotic eras there came two try-outs  
of

of economic nationalism, applied by autocratic methods. The first system was worked out by the marvelous little group of statesmen that surrounded Charles II. In 1660-1673 the aged Earl of Clarendon, a politician and a master historian, aided by the unscrupulous Duke of Buckingham, the canny Lord Arlington and the profiteer Duke of Albemarle, worked out a marvelous system which was to save England and fit all the trans-Atlantic colonies into a water-tight system. It was unlawful to ship a pound of gold out of the country. No foreign goods were to be imported except upon a sort of quota system. A monopoly market was created for sugar, tobacco and ship timber, produced in the colonies. All "quota" imports from the colonies were taxed at two to four times their producers' value to enable the government to ignore public opinion and collect taxes without the consent of the people. Merchants and manufacturers were authorized to sell their goods to the public at prices fixed by themselves. And surplus products were to be dumped upon the continental market at half the prices paid at home. It was a marvelously perfect scheme under which workers on the land were to have no return at all for their labor, landlords somewhat more and industrialists and traders princely profits. His Majesty, Charles II, was to be autocratic master of the system and make war upon Holland, the one rival and free-trade advocate which might upset the scheme.

But no scheme has ever worked well more than a decade or two without popular support, and when the King had beaten Holland in 1674 and annexed all strategic points in North America, the crafty Earl of Shaftsbury,

conseilled

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counselled by the canny John Locke, moved into the slums of London, organized groups of shouting, hurrahing followers, gained control of a parliament which could no longer be postponed and brought the cheap autocrat's life to a miserable end in 1684; and the long subdued lower middle classes of the country united with the new aristocracy and made the unloved William III of Holland King of England. All the larger cities and more developed shires, supported by the angry colonies from Massachusetts to South Carolina, shouted loud hurrahs. It was the "glorious revolution," hardly a score of lives lost in the process! All the strenuous decrees of Charles II became dead letters which no one seriously heeded. Seventy years later when George III tried to revamp the system, the colonies revolted and started a world commotion which lasted thirty years. Stuart economic nationalism had failed.

#### IV.

The English had hardly launched their scheme before John Baptiste Colbert, master statesman about Louis XIV, contrived a better system for the perfect government of France. Son of a mere trader of Rheims, he invented a pedigree which proved himself to be of noble birth, and he managed to get it to the snobbish young monarch. That was enough. He was granted despotic powers. He dispossessed hundreds of great families of newly rich folk, handed their properties over to the Crown, condemned thousands to death because they resisted

him.

him, and so re-adjusted taxes that Louis henceforth had income enough to wage war when he would, and, at the same time, pension every promising leader or emerging writer, not excluding scores in Germany and Spain. The recalcitrant landed aristocracy was everywhere subdued, parliaments were not allowed to assemble, while the new-rich and all the talent of the time were allowed to bask in the sunshine of the royal presence. The young monarch rose to unparalleled eminence in Europe and Colbert applied by decree an import-export system like that of England. Nothing could come in except upon approval and the payment of high tariffs. Every surplus, except gold, must go out at whatever prices could be obtained. A third class like that of England arose. Monopoly privileges prevailed everywhere. A countryman who objected to aristocratic hunters running over his ripe wheat fields was simply shot like a pheasant or a partridge. France was wonderfully organized from the top-like Augustus Caesar's reorganized Rome. There was not a popular assembly in a hundred and forty years, and terrorizing wars were the order of the time 1668-7, 1672-3, 1693-7, 1690-97, 1701-13. France was perfectly pyramided at home and on the continent. The glamor of Versailles was seen and imitated all over Germany, while thousands of men rotted in French prisons because they had ventured to protest; and peasant farmers reached so low an estate that, like North American Indians, they lived off roots and herbs or died unwept along the roadside, as they do today in a great minority government of our time.

It was the economic nationalism which had saved

France

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France after the chaotic days of Mazarin." However, it collapsed in 1789 with a crash and a thunder which reverberated for a score of years all over the world. Thus the best laid schemes of Bourbon autocrats failed as dismally as that of their Stuart cousins. Governments from the top fail as often as those from the bottom; and every great failure brings a sad social reaction, thousands and millions of helpless men laying down their lives in the unhappy process. Why may not statesmen study the past and avoid such catastrophes?

#### V.

When Napoleon I came to his end in 1815, a great world congress had set everything to rights in Vienna and told everybody how to behave for a hundred years; but soon came the accustomed chaos in victorious as well as defeated countries. From 1815 to 1848 there was depression; here and there, everywhere, as now the markets of Europe, except for cotton, were dead for young America, and Europe was distracted by debts and new revolutions. Could mankind never learn the effects of wars?

In far-off Kentucky a lean, lanky, half-educated but clever orator, Henry Clay, worked out in 1823 another economic nationalism. He would bar the ports of the United States against cheap but excellent European goods, associate all Latin-American peoples with those of his own country, create huge markets by building cities, railroads and canals and leave the builders of the new industry and the new-oil banking system the utmost freedom in exploiting their



their fellows. It was an unconscious imitation of the English and the French systems of the seventeenth century - the fussy, cantankerous John Randolph was about the only member of Congress who knew enough of history to give Clay's so-called "American system" its proper European name. Clay fought long and hard, always dreaming of the Presidency for himself, Daniel Webster and the unscrupulous bank president, Nicholas Biddle, his ablest lieutenants. He was defeated by the rising cotton kingdom in the South and it was left to the troubled Abraham Lincoln, in the midst of a great war, 1861-64, to grant industrialists and bankers all that the dead Clay had promised them. The economic nationalism which Benjamin Franklin and George Mason had feared and warned Washington against was now firmly fixed on "free American soil" and its success was far greater than that of Clarendon or Colbert. England, France and Germany had, after long debates, adopted in the main the Adam Smith philosophy on which the Americans had gone to war in 1776. That is, Europe had adopted the ideals of Young America and opened their markets in order to sell their growing industrial output to the far corners of the world. The United States had adopted the attitude of Europe in 1776 and closed their vast domestic market while they sold billions of dollars worth of foodstuffs to England, France and Germany. There had never been anything like it in all history. England and Germany developed more in fifty years than either of them had developed in the preceding five hundred years. It was the machine age, and populations increased faster than machines. Cyrus

McCormick

McCormick, a Virginia inventor, showed American farmers how to grow wheat at thirty cents a bushel and produce meat at two cents a pound. And American farmers, aided by free land and new machines, drove British and German farmers out of business and crowded them on to emigrant boats bound for the farms of the great West. "Everybody was getting rich."

But the masters of industry, of railroads and banks managed to pocket nearly all the profits and there came a depression and an outcry which all but enabled the young W. J. Bryan to work a revolution in 1896. He failed on a narrow margin through bribed votes, and the system was sustained in wobbly estate till Europe went to war in 1914 as France had done in 1805. The outcome all the world knows. The marvelous American system seemed successful when it was not, and the Presidents of 1921-28 with their optimistic Secretary of the Treasury thought it a sort of millennium which must rapidly cover the earth. To this dream a later President added the prophecy that poverty, the curse of mankind, would be abolished when he took his seat in the mansion on Pennsylvania Avenue!

## VI.

But the collapse came in 1929; it was almost as terrible as that of 1789 in Paris. The hopeful, buoyant United States now fell into the economic chaos into which the great war had thrust all the states of Europe. The unemployed outnumbered the dead and wounded of the recent struggle. In place of Hoover's universal and everlasting prosperity, there was threat of universal poverty. The

American

American economic nationalism the dangers of which Franklin and Mason had foreseen in 1787, had run its course - as had the schemes of Clarendon and Colbert.

In conclusion one may safely say that it would be no sin if statesmen learned enough of history to realize that no system which implies control of society by privilege seekers has ever ended in any other way than collapse. The wisest of all American statesmen insisted all his life that the way to develop the ideal social order was to leave every man the utmost freedom of initiative and action and always to forbid any man or group of men to profiteer at the expense of others. May we not reasonably expect of statesmen of today a sufficient knowledge of the blunders of the past to realize that if western civilization is to survive, they must find a way to avoid the crime and the terrific disasters of war; they must learn how to develop in a friendly spirit the resources of undeveloped regions of the world; they must lower, not raise, the barriers against the migration of surplus populations; and they must facilitate, and not defeat, the interchange of surplus goods - with these rational changes of international procedure, a higher culture might easily be carried to the masses of man everywhere; without these, another war and chaos.

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Note

PSF: 150.2

The material in this letter  
also appears in Ambassador  
Hoddy's Diary, pp 90-91, pub. 1941,  
Harcourt, Brace.

Berlin, November 27, 1933.

*Confidential*

Dear Mr. President:

I am preparing a somewhat careful analysis of the ruling trio here with a view to more accurate understanding in the State Department as to the situation. As I can not get the report off in today's pouch, I am taking the liberty of summarizing it to you.

Your remark in your letter of the 13th about the eight percent of the world's population defeating ninety-two percent in their peaceful objectives leads me to think that you might possibly profit from this summary.

The Hitler regime is composed of three rather inexperienced and very dogmatic persons, all of whom have been more or less connected with murderous undertakings in the last eight or ten years. It is a combination of men who represent different groups of the present German majority (not an actual majority). Hitler, now about 45, was an orphan at 13, went through the war without promotion or decorations, so much worshipped here, and who had very curious experiences in Munich between 1919 and 1923. He is romantic-minded, half-informed about great historical figures in Germany, and he was for a number of years a strict imitator of Mussolini. He rose to power by organizing elements in Germany which were partly unemployed and wholly indignant because Germany had not won the great war. His devices are the devices which men set up in ancient Rome, namely, his flag and salute. He has definitely said on a number of occasions that a people survives by fighting and dies through peaceful policies. His influence is and has been wholly belligerent. The last

The President,  
The White House,  
Washington, D.C.

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six or eight months he has made many, many announcements of peaceful purpose, and at the time being, and I think he is perfectly sincere and is consequently willing to negotiate with France. However, in the back of his mind is the old German idea of dominating Europe through warfare.

Hitler's first lieutenant is Joseph Goebbels, some ten years younger, a miniature figure who was not engaged in the war but who imbibed the bitterness against France and the rest of the world during that long struggle. After the war he engaged in organizing belligerent groups in western Germany and took every possible occasion to challenge the old Socialist regime which submitted to the Treaty of Versailles. He joined Hitler and made constant declarations that the German people, once united, would domineer the world. While Hitler is a fair orator as German oratory goes, Goebbels is a past master. He makes a point of stirring animosities and hatreds whenever there is opportunity, and he has combined all the newspaper, radio, publications and art activities of Germany into one vast propaganda machine. Through these agencies he is bent upon forcing all Germans into one solid phalanx. He is far cleverer than Hitler, much more belligerent, and, I am told, always refuses to have contacts with foreigners.

The third member of this triumvirate is Hermann Goerring, about forty, who comes from South Germany, and who was involved, as Goebbels also, in the early Putsch movement in Munich; was a fugitive from justice for some months while Hitler was in jail, and became intensely violent against all democratic and socialist groups. His wife died as a result of exposure while they were both fugitives from justice. The liberal-socialist government issued pardons for Hitler and Goerring about the same time and they recommenced their belligerent agitations about 1923-27. While Goebbels represents something approaching a communistic body of German opinion (mobilized against official Communism), Goerring represents a more aristocratic and Prussian Germanism. He is not without support amongst the larger business interests. He had a marvelous experience during the war as an aviator and became as intensely war-like as either Goebbels or Hitler. He is the Prussian Minister President, and has mobilized all the old Prussian

extremists.



expremists and militarists on behalf of the existing regime.

You have, therefore, a unique triumvirate. Hitler, less educated, more romantic, with a semi-criminal record; Goebbels and Goering, both Doctors of Philosophy, both animated by intense class and foreign hatreds and both willing to resort to most ruthless arbitrary methods. Each of the three has a body of support necessary for the maintenance of the present regime. They do not love each other, but in order to maintain their power, they have to sit down together. I do not think there has ever been in modern history such a unique group. There was such a group in ancient Rome, and you probably recall what happened. You may see, therefore, something of the problem you have to deal with, and also some of the reasons why a man of my background might be doubtful of any early success.

Sincerely yours,

William E. Dodd

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set English and French together and  
put through present ten year pact  
tied on to similar pact for Far East,  
you might do what our great friend,  
Wilson, failed to do: actually start  
work on road to peaceful negotiations  
in place of old road to war. You can  
perhaps bring Brand, Johnson and McAdams  
to agree if they understand inconceivable  
of war in Far East

If you can not get actual agreements  
from England and France, Italy, Ger-  
many, Poland and Russia, autocratic  
powers, will insist on French-Balkan  
problems and leave Far East to us  
alone. Change of German attitude as  
to Poland and Russia is obvious here.  
If this sort of pact is agreed to, it  
will be peaceful very long. Perhaps  
I am wrong; but such is my mature  
judgment - nor am I either "German" or  
"British."

Yours Sincerely  
William E. Dodd

W.E.D. Dodd

P. M. J. - Berlin  
December 23, 1933

December 23, 1933

Dear Mr. President:

Perhaps you won't  
object to a belated New Year's  
greeting from this centre of arbi-  
trary government. You must know  
you have our ardent good wishes. You  
have already done a great work; but  
it's going to take more than four  
years to apply your system - and as  
usual leadership is seriously handicapped,  
perhaps necessarily on the whole, by  
fixed elections. My prophecy is that  
you will have no difficulty in that  
service.

If you do not <sup>object</sup>, I hope you

will reach State Department

groupings a little. There are others who jeopardize the service by favoring rich persons, friends and kinsfolk. We are suffering from such a ruling here now. I would like to know you had-given a mandate to the Secretary to stop favoritism and if necessary re-assign persons who make trouble. In my judgment new recruits should not be taken in upon any sort of basis of merit; perhaps new folk kept up till the present Service people can be arranged according to merit; and after this best some of the higher posts go to very best service men, with new blood at critical centres. This might overcome

present social & merit nuisance. I am not opposed to normal social contacts, but against making servile relations imitating Prussian. I believe budget might be reduced by one-fourth and service improved.

As to present status of German-French armament negotiations, I want to say: I do not fall for English propositions without consideration. They made unwise commitments in Far East from which leaders - at least the Ambassador here - wish to escape. The French are standing too stubbornly against all concessions to Germany - especially Hitler. Strangely the German Foreign Secretary expresses great concern over danger of Japanese attack upon Russia.

About Germany 7 to 10 English will be making tentative proposition to you. My analysis is that if you would



PSF: G. M. M. M.  
D. C. 1934

Feb. 4, 1934

Dear Mr. President:

The daily and almost hourly conferences and calls due to the presence of American, English and Swiss Bond delegations caused me to overlook the opportunity of writing you congratulations on the occasion of your 52nd birthday. But you must know that I am now, as I have long been, grateful as a citizen and a co-worker to you for what you are and the monumental work you have done this last year. If there is a moment of time to spare let me dwell for a moment on some points of common concern.

The German Finance and Economics authorities here are now and have been quite aware of the wrong involved in their rulings. I have had "set to's" with all responsible parties. Schacht finally declared to me that he had never favored the discriminations. There are really two groups functioning here: one is composed of Foreign Office, Reichsbank and Wirtschaftsratsminister; the other of the various combination of Hitler, Göring and Goebbels who hardly know there is an international opinion to reckon with. The President stands aloof, but he is fully conscious of international trends and casts his influence the right way, as I think, when decisions are left to him - as happens quite often now.

In view of above facts, I feel that the Bond matter was decided as well as we could have hoped for. One thing went a long way: your announced firm attitude which was promptly published here. However, the 6% and 7% interest rates which are now going to be fixed are

regarded here as far too high; and our tariff rates  
of 1922 and 1930 are regarded as largely responsible  
for existing state of things; all other countries having  
imitated them.

I am enclosing a clipping from Paris Tribune  
just to show you how your suggestions are taken  
on this side. It is my opinion that <sup>is</sup> the only real  
solution to our economic dilemma, i.e. a slow trans-  
fer of some millions of people from the industrial  
centres, artificially built up by too protective tar-  
iffs, and corporate railway misconcentration. We  
forget Jefferson's dictum that no man or group  
must be allowed to prosper and monopolize the profits.  
As well as the rest of us, are paying the penalty.  
However, it is no easy job to transfer unwilling  
and uneducated city folk to small farms all  
about the country. You can do it by degrees and  
especially after you carry the election of 1934  
overwhelmingly, as you will. And you must also  
carry the election of 1936. That will put you  
where Jefferson was in 1800-06 when he att-

in very cautious way two great problems: the pretensions of the courts [Marshall] which were already kind up for commercial privilege and the slavery, suddenly grown powerful, due to section. He delayed his great task till he had all power; but when he was defeated I reasons never made clear in our history. The reasons were new, was in Europe [Napoleon at Austria] and the revolt of Democrats in the South who should have agreed to gradual abolition! One of the greatest of leaders, every state but two behind him, was defeated in one of the greatest and wisest of moves!

You will say: Why so discouraging? I reply that under our unique system Presidents of the greatest sincerity and highest talents have lost in their 4th and 7th years: Jefferson and Wilson; Jackson, Lincoln and Cleveland never able to carry their purposes. You have what Jefferson had: perfect confidence of the masses. You have even more difficult problem, nobody in all history a more difficult one. The United States must stabilize on fair economic basis; it must then become a world leader. If you can redistribute population, open world markets, put all banks under control and then show Europe how to stop barbarism, you will have won the gratitude of the ages. I think you can do it, if you can break out and you manage next two elections successfully. Pardon so long a story. All good wishes

Yours Sincerely  
William E. Dodd

PSF: Garmany  
Doubt

Feb. 8, 1934

Dear Mr. President:

The daily and almost hourly conferences and calls due to the presence of American, English and Swiss Bond delegations caused me to overlook the opportunity of writing you congratulations on the occasion of your 52nd birthday. But you must know that I am now, as I have long been, grateful as a citizen and a co-worker to you for what you are and the monumental work you have done this last year. If there is a moment of time to spare let me dwell for a moment on some points of common concern

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In view of above facts, I feel that the Bond matter was decided as well as we could have hoped for. One thing went a long way: your announced personal attitude which was promptly published here. However, the 6% and 7% interest rates which our New York bankers fixed are

regarded here as far too high; and our tariff rates of 1922 and 1930 are regarded as largely responsible for existing state of things; all other countries having imitated them.

I am enclosing a clipping from Paris Tribune just to show you how your suggestions are taken on this side. It is my opinion that <sup>is</sup> the only real solution to our economic dilemma, i.e. a slow transfer of some millions of people from the industrial centres, artificially built up by too protective tariffs and corporate railway misconcentration. We forgot Jefferson's dictum that no man or group must be allowed to profligate and now the profligates, as well as the rest of us, are paying the penalty. However, it is no easy job to transfer unwilling and uneducated city folk to small farms all about the country. You can do it by degrees and especially after you carry the election of 1934 overwhelmingly, as you will. And you must also carry the election of 1936. That will put you where Jefferson was in 1803-06 when he attained



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Yours Sincerely,  
William E. Dodd



Dear Roper:

If the President wishes further information, I think State Department could give it.

Please let Auto people know I want to see proper person about a car.

*Wm. F. Hall*

[1934?]

The Proposed German Commission

About the 20th of February Dr. Schacht of the German National Bank, dictator of German finance came to see me and bore the situation of his country in a way which American Bond representatives had not learned though they learned much.

Schacht said there was then [and a cabinet crisis about the subject was narrowly averted] a tremendous pressure for going off the gold standard for trade purposes; but that he would never assent because of the different situation there from that in the United States. I inferred that he would resign if the policy were changed.

But in the hope of carrying on successfully through the spring, he proposed a scheme for temporary staying of Bond situation while Germany would greatly increase cotton purchases from us and make deals [thought to be probable] to sell industrial output in Latin America. I submitted his scheme to state Department. His fear then, and even greater when I left Berlin, was that German balances would get worse before the middle of April when another Bond conference is to meet. The hope of improving the situation was <sup>promised</sup> in the passage of the President's

mandate for tariff re-adjustments - daily watched in Germany. Schacht simply wished such improving prospects with us as would enable him to avoid further defaults at the Conference in April.

About March 1, the German Foreign Office asked me to talk over possibility of a Commission to Washington for the purpose of readjusting trade agreements. I then told the Commission was about to be appointed and I was asked what I thought of the individuals suggested. It looked to be a good committee, no party or personal chiefs - simply first class men who, I thought,

would make good impression in Washington. But I at once advised delay in sending them. They were to have sailed March 9. My advice was to wait till Congress acted and a cable be sent from the State Department ~~authorizing~~ <sup>that</sup> had been advising without special reference to this point - it or from their ambassador. This was agreed to and I reported to Washington. There were further conversations and I appointed set Agricultural Attache Steele to making acquaintance with proposed Commission members and also to study various commercial interests and difficulties so that, in case of need he might

be called to Washington to assist in negotiations when they began.

Saturday night March 10, German Foreign Secretary, von Neurath, was at my house and reported that he had been authorized by the Chancellor to send Commission whenever Washington was ready - he again discussed personnel. He also revealed considerable anxiety lest delay might precipitate economic trouble in Germany. Though not close friends, he and Schacht were of the same mind. I was certain, therefore, that the German authorities

were <sup>unanimous</sup> ~~unanimous~~ in the view that a great deal depends on negotiations of new German-American trade relations; and I promised von Neurath to do what I could to expedite matters.

My suggestion would, therefore, be to expedite German matter as soon as possible, for it is highly important to have the Commission over here before our conference meets in Berlin. The fact of negotiations being under way and the existence of friendly economic relations which could be advantageously continued in Germany would have

preserving confidence and in avoiding complete default on interest payments. In my judgment a suspension of payments in April would be most harmful here and the failure of ~~so~~ commercial improvements with us would certainly make May 1 [always a dangerous day in Germany] more critical.

We must not assume that Schacht is willing to default. He is not. He wishes to show us that Germany is not another France. All thoughtful Germans indicate same attitude. They are anxious to please us.

The Germans do wish lower rates of interest; and our Bankers delegates agree that 6 and 7% is too high for bonds ~~set~~ on our markets when few American securities pay more than 4% these days.

There are other points involved; but these are the main ones. If we can act promptly and in conciliatory spirit we may save both peoples from great losses. I had a long talk with Hitler on March 7 and he is deeply interested.

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7-87: Germany  
DoddTHE SECRETARY OF STATE  
WASHINGTON

June 16, 1934.

Dear Mr. President:

I enclose for your information copy of a telegram which I am sending to Ambassador Dodd in Berlin, regarding the recent debt action taken by Germany.

During the negotiations between representatives of the American bondholders and the German officials over the past few weeks at Berlin, we have made suitable representations on various occasions in support of the rights of our nationals and especially in the matter of any possible discrimination against them. This I did again in conversation with the German Ambassador here, both some days ago and as late as yesterday.

Faithfully yours,

Enclosure:  
Copy of telegram.

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read "Cordell Hull".

The President,  
The White House.

COPY

June 16, 1934.

AMEMBASSY

BERLIN (GERMANY)

Please take the earliest occasion to see Von Neurath or a ranking official in the Foreign Office and state orally that you have been instructed by your Government to protest energetically and formally against the recent summary independent action of Germany in respect to her external debts, which seriously affects our Government and its nationals. The American Government takes occasion to express its strongest regret that new losses are thereby imposed on American citizens, and that debtor-creditor relationships have been further impaired.

I purpose to inform the press on Monday of the general tenor of the foregoing.

In regard to the question of discrimination against American investors that has been brought to the front by the developments mentioned in your 112, of June 16, please state to the German Government that this Government would view with disapproval any and all developments in this situation under which its investors

receive

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receive poorer treatment than investors of other countries, and would be called upon to protest any such discrimination. The spectacle of having not only to accept losses but to perceive payments to investors of other nationalities at their expense would arouse immediate resentment among the numerous American investors.

As regards further statements of Foreign Office transmitted in your 112, if the German Government wishes to put forward proposals for an agreed on reduction of interest on its external indebtedness, this Government is convinced that the Council of Foreign Bondholders, which has been representing the American holders of German securities, would give consideration to such proposals.



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How to F.

PSF: Dodd

File - European Affairs  
(S) (2)

Wm.  
Roosevelt

June 28, 1934

My dear Mrs. Roosevelt:

Though I have never  
had the pleasure and honor of meeting  
you, I am glad to learn that you are  
taking a vacation in Europe and hope  
you may be able to visit Germany  
before you return. In case you  
should come this way I trust  
you will let us know a little  
beforehand so that all of us  
may be at home, and be able

to render whatever assistance we can.  
President Roosevelt was at one time  
a student in Germany and this  
fact, besides all the other interest-  
ing circumstances, may appeal to you.  
I need hardly say to you that your  
son has had the most difficult  
task that ever confronted a President  
and I think I am right when I  
say he has met his ordeal with  
the finest spirit possible and  
has already shown that he will  
be more than successful.

Pardon this break into your time.

Yours sincerely  
William E. Dodd

TSF:Modd

Berlin, November 5, 1934.

Dear Judge Moore:

We are sending with this pouch a special report (despatch No. 1417, October 26) which has to do with the general military and militaristic situation here. I thought that I might summarize a little of my own observations so that you might speak to the Secretary about it and perhaps save some of his time.

On October 26 I had a conversation with Dr. Schacht. He raised the point once more of treaty negotiations. I said to him: you know the drift of public opinion in the United States still runs strong; and now we have a church issue here which is already bringing further critical, if not hostile, reactions at home. I might say that a number of people, both Americans and Germans, have expressed this view to me personally. Schacht at once said that he realized what a great blunder was being made in the church matter, that he and von Neurath had on several occasions urged upon the Chancellor a more rational policy. He then turned to me and said: "I want to make an appointment with the Chancellor for you to speak with him. He is so completely surrounded by Partei people that I think you ought to tell him very frankly what outside opinion is. It might have good effect." I replied that I could not intermeddle in German domestic affairs, but Schacht showed considerable uneasiness. I mention this to you because it shows so clearly the attitude of a great minority in Germany.

The

The Honorable  
R. Walton Moore,  
Assistant Secretary of State,  
Washington, D.C.

The majority, however, is, as I judge, entirely committed to the philosophy of complete German unity in every direction and of war as soon as that unity is attained, war primarily against France.

The next day my son and I drove by way of Wittenberg, Leipzig and Nuremberg to Constance, and on Sunday and Monday returned through Stuttgart, Erfurt, Bitterfeld and Leipzig to Berlin. We observed things as closely as we could, and had conversations at several points. In almost every city or town there was marching, either of Hitler Jugend or of SS and SA men in uniform. In Bayreuth, marching and singing kept us awake nearly all the night.

A year ago I had driven over a part of this area, and most of the smokestacks showed that nothing was being done. This time almost every smokestack showed great activity, especially in Bitterfeld, Nuremberg, Stuttgart and Erfurt. These are not the great industrial centers, but from everything I could learn there is great preparation for war. Just what they manufacture in these districts I cannot say, but the activity seemed as great as it was in Chicago in 1926/28. We have learned from Consular reports that in some places they are making poison gas and explosives in great quantities. The Consul in Dresden reported November 1st 1,000 airplanes in that district.

The following conversation at Hechingen on Sunday, October 25, illustrates what the public thinks is going on. We had luncheon at a hotel there, and on the wall next to my table was a poster which I asked the hotel-keeper to give me a copy of. You will see from this map just what lies behind the intensive military

preparation.

preparation. While we were eating, at least 2,000 Hitler Jugend marched past the hotel door. They were singing the usual songs, one of which starts "Siegreich wollen wir Frankreich schlagen." This song was formerly forbidden. It is now heard everywhere, at least I have reports that it is sung here in Berlin when the troops are marching. When the hotel man handed me the picture, I said: "Are all of you learning to fly, as Goring suggests?" He replied: "A very great many. We have twenty expert flyers in this town (9,000 population), and they have registered 2,000 flyers in Stuttgart (capital, as you know, of Württemberg)." I said to him: "Well, that would make a good many flyers for the whole of Germany." He replied: "Yes, all the big business men want war, and the little men are opposed. I don't know what will happen." This man did not know who I was, as nobody else knew during the whole trip, but he showed his natural reactions and was not a little concerned. I merely mention this as illustrative of the feeling that is frequently reflected in conversations but which is never indicated in any public manner. It is fairly certain that nearly all the population is being held under the strictest control, and as I said above, the object is to put France out of business.

The result of all this, if allowed to go through, will of course mean annexations and predominance of the whole of Europe. I am not saying this is certain, only all the contemporary evidence points that way. I need hardly take more of your time.

Sincerely yours,

*William F. Dodd*

Enclosures.

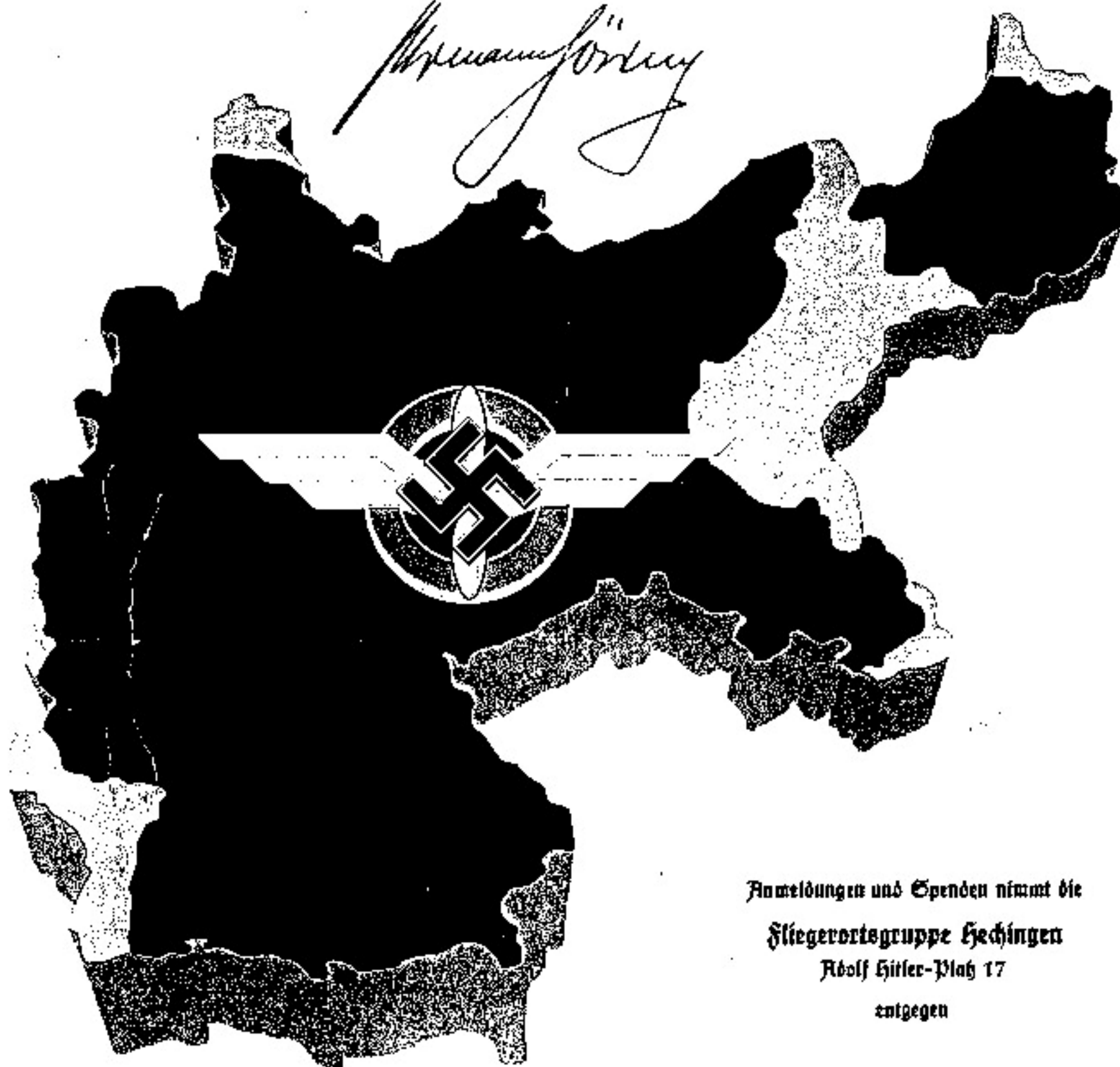
249

K02



Das Deutsche Volk muß ein  
Volk von fliegern werden.

*Wpmanförderer*



Anmeldungen und Spenden nimmt die  
Fliegerortsguppe Hechingen  
Adolf Hitler-Platz 17  
entgegen

**Helft der deutschen Luftfahrt,  
dann helfst ihr Deutschland!  
Werdet Mitglied des Deutschen Luftsportverbandes!**

*B F Dodd*

*60-10-1000  
(S)*

ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF STATE

WASHINGTON

November 20, 1934.

Dear Mr. President:

You may perhaps find of some interest the enclosures, which please do not go to the trouble of having returned to me.

Dr. Dodd's letter presents a rather dark picture of what is going on in Germany. His proposed historical address points out, as he is much in the habit of doing, what a hard task it has been from ancient times until now to assure the mass of the people a fair measure of the good things of life.

In accordance with your suggestion, I have talked at some length with Mr. Steinhardt and shall have some further talk with Mr. Long and am discussing with the Foreign Personnel Board methods that may be employed for improving our Service abroad.

With great respect and warm best wishes for you always, I am

Yours very sincerely,

Enclosures:

Letter from Ambassador Dodd and copy of speech.

*Robert M. Moma*

The President  
The White House.

*[F. B. 100]*

*1299*

Addressed to be de-  
livered before American  
Historical Association,  
Washington, D. C., December  
29, 1934. William E. Dodd

Ps E. W. Moore

# THE EMERGENCE OF THE FIRST SOCIAL ORDER IN THE UNITED STATES.

## I

There have been two conscious or unconscious social orders in the United States, where another great crisis is now forcing men to re-examine the philosophies of their predecessors. The first of these began with the Stuart Restoration and ended in 1865; the second emerged slowly between 1823 and 1861, took definite economic form in 1865, and reached the acme of its power, if not its end, in 1865. There are many serious thinkers in the American intellectual realm today who feel that a third social order is slowly emerging, that democracy is going to be tried at last on a national scale. Hence it may not be out of order to describe and assess the first phase of the old Plantation life which began when the Clarendon Code was applied to England, assumed a more dogmatic and arbitrary character soon after a clever New Englander showed the South Carolinians how to make a thousand bales of cotton grow where one had grown before, and came to its tragic end when Robert E. Lee surrendered at Appomattox.

Enclosures to  
letter to the President  
from Assistant Secretary  
R. Walton Moore.

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001

If one would understand the making of the social and cultural life of the Old South, he must study the troubled Europe from which our model-setting ancestors came during the seventeenth century. There the wars for religious liberties were paralleled by the economic and social disasters due to the incoming shiploads of gold and silver from Central and South America. And while wars created artificial markets that suddenly collapsed, and the discovery of vast stores of the precious metals upset the value standards of the time, the rapid growth of English industry and drastic changes in agricultural life added to the social chaos from which hundreds of thousands of the more ambitious unemployed of western Europe escaped to the stormy islands of the West Indies or the dangerous forests of North America. The common man of the Stuart and Bourbon absolutisms was in a worse plight in 1607 and 1660 than his successor of our day; and it was the common man of the seventeenth century who set the patterns of life for which most Americans<sup>1</sup> and most western Europeans sadly contend today.

## II.

During the first fifty years of British dis-

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1. See, Sir Frederick: The State of the Poor, in three volumes published in 1797, gives ample information.

coveries and settlements in North America, Bacon and Coke, Hooker and Sandys, Hampden and Wilton, Lilburne and Baxter, Hobbes and Locke argued, wrote, quarrelled and fought over every principle of religion, self-government and personal freedom known to mankind.

Although newspapers were already in existence, forty thousand pamphlets circulated among the English people during the first half of the seventeenth century. Rarely has there ever appeared in so short a period so many men of high intellectual ability and moral integrity - never quite so many ready to die for their ideals. Even the illiterates of the mid-seventeenth century must have known a good deal about the everlasting problem of equitable government.

From the turmoil of Stuart England there came hundreds of entrepreneurs who hoped to build on the protected peninsulars and islands of the North American mainland ducal and manorial estates like those which had been the models in European economic and social life for five hundred years. When all Europe took to smoking and chewing tobacco, when sugar came to be of common use about 1650, the opportunities of grand-scale

agriculture were most appealing to the more ambitious emigrants. However, it was not easy to persuade unemployed folk - more numerous in proportion and more helpless than than now - to migrate to and become workers on the proposed manorial estates. Storms and strange diseases caused the death of one-fourth of all those who ventured to cross the Atlantic in hundred to two hundred ton ships; and more than a fourth of those who settled in Virginia and Maryland died within two years. Thus it was only the bravest and most self-respecting of the unemployed who yielded to the persuasions of entrepreneurs and ship captains to migrate to North America.

The terms on which the poorer freemen and the unemployed of England agreed to cross the dangerous Atlantic were vital elements in the makeup of the early North American character. Most men and women who went to the Chesapeake Bay country between 1620 and 1680 stipulated that they would take the risks and become indentured servants for five or six years only on definite terms. And entrepreneurs who controlled vast areas of land, like the second Lord Baltimore or the lesser Claibornes and Willoughbys of Virginia, were glad to meet these demands. They paid six pounds each



for transportation of servants to their new destinations and signed contracts in which they promised indentured workers, at the expiration of their terms, a tract of land, a new suit of clothes, a heifer, two pigs, firearms and the simpler farm implements. These were basic conditions upon which the majority of white people became citizens of the North American colonies from Maine to Georgia. Nor can these people be regarded as poor ne'er-do-wells, as so many historians have seemed<sup>1</sup> to think.

With these guarantees in black and white, the would-be manor lords of Virginia and Maryland were sure to meet with difficulties. Indentured servants were crowded into little cabins on their masters' estates; but with vast stretches of Indian lands not far away, these workers were not disposed to become submissive serfs. If treatment was rough, pressure too great, and marriage among the servants punished too severely, they ran away to the frontier where they could hunt and fish for a living and buy lands

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1. Clark, G.N.: The Later Stuarts, 1660-1714, p.35, shows that in a population of 3,000,000 there were 1,400,000 with incomes of £5 to nothing a year. From other evidence I am of the opinion that there was nearly a million unemployed after 1861, except in war time.

from the Indians for bagatelles; and such great numbers of servants did run away that more laws were enacted on that than any other subject during a period of thirty years. But the laws could not be enforced effectively where half the population sympathized with the runaways; nor were the punishments of runaways so severe as the law prescribed when vestrymen of the churches and justices of the courts were often ex-servants. Thus the plantation areas were unruly democracies.

Nor was this all. The Chesapeake Bay lands did not produce good tobacco more than five or six years in succession, save perhaps on limited river fronts. Consequently, permanent attachment of less ambitious workers to the soil was not possible. Plantations were always moving and changing. The masters of a few great estates lived in fair sized houses on river banks during the second half of the seventeenth century; but a far greater number of planters were constantly migrating westward or southward. Moreover, the downward trend of prices, except in the short period of uncontrolled British trade, 1642-1660, made

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1. Henning, William Waller: The Statutes at Large of all the Laws of Virginia, II., especially for the years 1650-1670.

the entrepreneur's and the manor lord's status quite uncertain. The guarantee of lands and freedom to indentured servants defeated the formation of the stratified social order which was thought necessary. Although there was the appearance of religious discipline and control in Virginia, it was only an appearance. People were not compelled to attend church. The Bishop of London might name pastors to vacancies, but the salaries and terms of service depended on local vestries popularly elected. Everybody was required by church decrees to bury their dead in consecrated ground; yet many if not most landowners buried deceased members of their families in their gardens or on cherished hilltops. And, although the Prayer Book of James II's time was supposed to express every man's creed, quite a third of Virginia church members were dissenters or deists at heart. Thus prospective homesteads for all who wished them, the right to elect assemblies and freedom of religious beliefs and conduct, that is, self-guided democracies,

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1. Vertecacker, Thomas J.: Patriotism and Progress in Virginia, 1810, gives a good account of social classes in Virginia during the 17th century.

defeated all efforts before 1660 to set up a landed social order reflective of the reactionary ideals of the well-to-do. However, when the clever Edward Hyde and George Monck maneuvered Charles II back to his father's throne, one more grand effort was made.

### III.

There has rarely been a group of leaders who so seriously shifted the course of modern history as did the little clique who surrounded Charles II from the summer of 1660 to the autumn of 1687. Only three of them, Edward Hyde, Earl of Clarendon after the Restoration, Ashley Cooper, Earl of Shaftesbury after 1673, and John Lord Berkeley, brother of the Virginia Governor, were of high aristocratic stock. The others were self-made men who knew even better than Clarendon and Shaftesbury the art of personal aggrandizement: George Monck, Earl of Albemarle, Henry Bennet, Earl of Arlington, Sir George Carteret, one-time pirate and the "richest man in England," Sir George Downing of Harvard College, and two merchants, <sup>1.</sup> Martin Noell and Thomas Povey. Nearly all of these

1. Burnet, Thomas; Bishop of Salisbury: History of His Own Time, 1688, Vol. I, Book II, gives contemporary appraisals of these characters. The Dictionary of National Biography (British) gives corrective facts.

were members of the Privy Council and thus guided the policy of the Crown; these controlling members of the Council were also the masters of His Majesty's famous Board of Trade and Plantations which worked out the new British colonial and commercial programme; they likewise dominated both the East India Company and the new African Slave Trade corporation, in which the Duke of York and the King's "devoted" sister, the Duchess of Orleans, were heavy stockholders. Every important political and economic interest of Restoration England was thus under the control of eight intimates of His Majesty who were "interlocking" <sup>1.</sup> directors of one political and three commercial boards.

Their purposes were clearly revealed in the Clarendon Code of 1662-35, which decreed a complete surrender of all dissenters to the State Church, dismissed at a single stroke twelve hundred clergymen, cast such men as John Bunyan and Richard Baxter into prison and sometimes executed groups of religious or political opponents who refused to surrender. If

1. Andrews, Charles M.: British Committees, Commissions and Councils of Trade and Plantations, 1662-1679, - 1908, gives valuable information on this subject.

church folk held private meetings, they were expelled from the country and subject to execution if they returned. The next items of the control programme were included in the Navigation Acts of 1660 and 1683: according to these, all British commerce was subjected to the strictest regulation. No ship could sail the seas unless two-thirds of its crew were British sailors. No sugar or tobacco from any of the plantations might be sold to other than English merchants, who demanded and enjoyed a monopoly of the home market; and His Majesty laid taxes on these colonial imports two to four times as high as the returns paid the original producers. French wines and silks might not go to any American colonists except through English hands; and no Dutch slave ship might enter plantation harbours. No one was allowed to take money out of England, except a few travelers; and no colonials might buy or sell commodities to French or Spanish neighbors, who paid them in silver or gold. In 1682 the African Slave Company began its efforts to drive the Dutch slave traders off the West Coast of Africa. And to complete the process and

1. Baer, George Louis: The Old Colonial System, 1650-1754, Vol. I, gives full account of laws of trade and navigation.

avoid domestic interference, the House of Commons, composed of the King's friends, was to be adjourned from session to session and no elections were to be permitted except to fill vacancies, and these were to be carefully managed. To defeat Dutch interference, a pact was made with the emerging Louis XIV, kinsman of Charles II, and treaties were negotiated with Spain and Portugal which gave England control of the entrance to the Mediterranean, ownership of Bombay, and free access to Latin American ports. Would the elaborate programme succeed and all the settlements of New England, the South, and the West Indies be brought into complete subordination?

#### IV

Sir William Berkeley, most eminent of all the plantation governors, was in London from the early summer of 1661 till the autumn of 1663, instructed and highly paid by his people to resist all commercial restraints upon the tobacco planters. He lived with his elder brother, Lord John, and could hardly escape the influence of another brother,



Lord Charles, or ignore the confidential relations of three other kinsmen of the same name with the Catholic Duke of York and the aging Queen Mother, Henrietta Maria. Before he departed he received a gift of £2,000 from the King and was made one of the eight lords proprietors of the vast territory between Virginia and Florida, the other leading proprietors being Lord John Berkeley, Albemarle, Carteret, Clarendon and Shaftesbury. The domain was to be divided into 48,000-acre tracts, each presided over by a Landgraf of ducal rank who was to subdivide his domain into manors of 12,000 acres each. Sir William, who already owned tracts of land in the region, was made temporary supervisor and authorized to appoint a governor of the dissenter settlement soon to be known as Albemarle. About a year after Sir William's return, Lord John Berkeley was made joint overlord of New Jersey, with Sir George Carteret as his partner. Two years before the South Carolina settlement was made, Thomas Lord Culpeper and two or three other favorites of the governing clique were granted

the six-million-acre area between the Rappahannock and the Potomac rivers. In 1675 Culpeper was promised the governorship and made feudal lord of Virginia. As the joyous Berkeley returned to his post on the James River, Charles Calvert, eldest son of the second Lord Baltimore and Governor of Maryland, was already trying to cure the persistent democracy of the Maryland palatinate. Thus the democratic settlements from the Hudson to the St. Johns rivers were to be feudalized and fitted into the marvellous structure which Clarendon and his fellows had organized.

But the Navigation Act policy had reduced the price of tobacco from two-pence to a half-penny the pound. This half-penny tobacco was matched by a similar decline in the price of sugar all over the West Indies, where twenty years of free trade had given all the mainland colonists high-priced markets for their minor products, including masts, lumber and barrel staves. The Restoration, the repudiated debts of the Cromwell régime and the drastic commercial controls produced a terrible depression in

England and all the colonies which continued unbroken  
i.  
for twenty-eight years.

To this depressed area and atmosphere Sir William endeavored to apply the London reforms: he decreed that there were to be no more elections of members of the House of Burgesses, except to fill vacancies; he persuaded the churches to abandon membership elections of their vestries and make them self-perpetuating social religious organizations; any ship captain who brought a Quaker to Virginia was to be fined 5,000 pounds of tobacco, a Baptist equally unwelcome; and he continued the policy of having members of the Council preside over county courts, fill vacancies and recommend appointments of sheriffs. He persuaded the Burgesses in 1663 to lay heavy taxes for the building of thirty-two new brick houses in little Jamestown, and all leading Virginians were required to build or own a house in or near the capital for social<sup>and relief</sup> purposes. The rates of wages and the cost of materials were fixed on artificial levels.

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I. Beer's Old Colonial System, II, Ch. VIII, gives an inadequate account of this depression, ~~xxx~~ the author was unaware of the real causes.

Every land owner was given an allowance or a reduction of taxes if he planted mulberry trees for the development of a silk industry which was to block French imports of silk into the British empire. In the autumn of 1663 the Virginians and the Marylanders agreed to plant only limited crops of tobacco, in the hope of raising prices, but the agreement was violated. There was, however, so much dissatisfaction with the Governor and his new régime that he asked and received a guard of twenty uniformed soldiers to accompany him wherever he went.

In spite of all these efforts, there was no recovery in the tobacco colonies, and in 1666 the populations everywhere were suffering intensely. Four years later the Governor thought to secure his power by pressing through the House of Burgesses a law limiting the ballot, even for vacancy elections, to freeholders, a measure already adopted in Maryland. Sir William and his Manorial Council of Carters, Chicheleys, Lees, Ludwells and Wormeleys maintained their autocratic position with great difficulty. In 1672 there was imminent danger of Virginia's deserting the Stuarts and taking the side of the Dutch in their war for free

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trade. And there was even greater resentment in 1674 when the people learned that Lord Culpeper was to become a Virginia Lord Baltimore. Would the tobacco settlements definitely become a stratified and sub-<sup>1.</sup>missive social order?

During the same years, the great lords proprietors were trying to apply their Landgraf system in Carolina; but every report from pioneers on the Albemarle Sound and the Cape Fear River warned that no success was possible except upon the principle of homesteads for all, the rights of self-government and religious freedom. John Locke insisted that such concessions must be granted, and Clarendon, who denied all religious freedom in England, agreed that Quakers, Baptists and New England Puritans might have all they asked if they would buy lands and pay quit rents in <sup>new</sup> their domain. The first Governor of the Charles Town settlement was a stern Puritan; and later a loyal Quaker occupied the same high station. For thirty years after the beginnings in the Albemarle region and on the peninsula between the Ashley and the Cooper rivers, the religious and political groups living on the lands

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Hening: Statutes, II, 513 and 534

of Clarendon, Carteret and the Berkeleye refused to recognize the claims of Landgrafs and manor chiefs. It was the same kind of struggle that continued in Virginia between 1630 and 1660. But in 1692 the right to vote in the Carolinas was limited to freeholders as it had been limited in the tobacco country about 1670. Indigo and rice were coming to be staples which sold at high prices in England, and the more fertile stretches of land were acquiring <sup>high</sup> fixed values. The lords of manors seemed to have a chance of success, and there was everywhere the promise of a profitable <sup>1.</sup> social subordination.

However, the drastic rule in England caused the migration, after 1670, of men like Giles Bland and the younger Nathaniel Bacon to the James River country where they found increasing resistance to the Berkeley authority. In a year or two the opposition was ominous, and in the spring of 1676 a violent revolution broke. Four-fifths of the people lent support to Bacon and Bland when they forced the election of a new House of Burgesses and repealed all the control

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1. McCrady, Edward: The History of South Carolina: Proprietary Government gives all the facts necessary for the understanding of the social evolution there.

laws of the preceding thirteen years. In Maryland and upper Carolina there was ardent support of the Virginia return to democracy. But by the merest accident the retreating Sir William made a prisoner of Bland, and some weeks later Bacon was suddenly taken ill and died. There were no <sup>other</sup> competent democratic leaders available, and before the end of November the authoritarian Governor was again on his throne with an increased number of guards around him. He had ordered the immediate execution of Bland, Drummond and a score of his other opponents. Before the winter passed, his executions, imprisonments and confiscations of property surpassed in number, if not in brutality, the similar performances of Charles II in 1660-68. There would be no vestige of democracy left if the Governor remained in office. Anxious people were leaving their homes and trekking to upper Carolina or the Virginia wilderness.

In Maryland, the work of Charles Calvert, although less arbitrary, from 1661 to 1675 gave evidence of greater success. Although religious liberty was not denied, the granting of vast strategic tracts of land to kinsmen and political favorites had given the declining



lords of manors increased authority, and the limitation of suffrage was changing the character of the assembly. The Stuart method was more acceptable there than elsewhere. However, Virginia moved <sup>now</sup> quickly in the same direction. When Sir William Berkeley died in London in the summer of 1677, Lady Berkeley inherited all his estates and became the wealthiest person in all the old Southern colonies. She was mistress of the Greenspring estate; she owned great tracts of land in northern Virginia and the Albemarle settlements, and she was one of the eight proprietors of the Carolinas. Her brother, John Culpeper, resided in England but drew a large income from the sales of lands in America, and her cousin, Lord Thomas Culpeper, was soon to assume the overlordship of Virginia.

Meanwhile, Herbert Jeffries, with mandates from Charles II, was trying to restore harmony among the terrorized Virginians. He was ignored and denounced by Lady Berkeley; and the majority of the Council, led by Philip Ludwell, treated the new Governor so badly that he took up his residence with Thomas Spang, a southside opponent of the emerging

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north-central Virginia aristocracy. Lady Berkeley assumed a leadership of the Virginia gentry which was hardly less effective than the governorship itself. For a period of three years she exercised an influence with the Council and the Burgesses which surpassed that of Margaret Brent, Governor of Maryland in 1646. Although she married Philip Ludwell, a third wealthy husband and President of the Council, in 1680, she remained "Lady Berkeley." Her Ladyship was well known at Whitehall, and in 1690 she and her third husband became governors of the emerging aristocracy in South Carolina.<sup>1</sup>

Such influences, added to those of the deceased Sir William Berkeley, hastened the social evolution so much desired in London. And in Virginia, Maryland and lower Carolina, large land grants, limited suffrage and county oligarchies at last produced the effects so long desired. There were Carrolls, Talbots and Taney in Maryland; Washingtons, Carters, Byrds and Blads in Virginia; Barnwells, Middletons and Rhett in Carolina. These families survived, like British

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1. The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography gives numerous sketches and articles on these subjects, but there is no account in print of the curious socialization represented by Lady Berkeley, Lo and Howard of Effingham.

families, more than a hundred and fifty years. However, these manor lords and plantation chiefs were not protocol aristocrats. Although many of them were distant relatives of British noblemen, there were hundreds of less known gentlefolk whose success limited the pretensions of the first families. There were many eminent members of legislatures and leaders of county courts whose fathers (or even themselves) had been indentured servants. The old manor ideal was greatly modified, and men like the Worcesters, the Masons and the Rhettts worked with their hands and associated freely, if not on terms of equality, with small farmers and struggling frontiersmen. No man gives a better example of this than George Washington himself. There was then in all the old Southern communities a social order which had taken definite form before Negro slavery became important.

#### V.

Once again outside influence operated to modify American institutions. The British Government forced - about 1665 - the selling of English unemployed as indentured servants. The poor were needed

for war purposes. The Scotch, Irish and certain criminals might be sold; but there were not enough of these, especially for the development of New York and the Carolinas; and the colonial assemblies protested against the admission of criminals. About the same time, the masters of the African Slave Company, directors of the Board of Trade and Plantations and moulders of the King's policy, made Jamaica the greatest slave mart in the world, and they constantly urged New Englanders, Virginians and Carolinians to buy Negroes at fifteen to twenty pounds each, instead of white servants at eight or ten pounds each for shorter terms of service. It was not a bad appeal, and the fact that high officials of the government were financially interested did not lessen the pressure, although the Albemarles, Berkeleys and Carterets were none too popular in the colonies. The early colonial instinct for democracy weakened the slavery appeal and delayed the movement. The migration of indentured servants was on the decline, yet there were in 1680 about 10,000 in the tobacco settlements, perhaps 4,000 blacks, many of whom had been freed at the end of long terms of service.<sup>1</sup>

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1. Donnan, Elizabeth: The Slave Trade in the Border Colonies gives best documentary account of the slavery in the Old South that is likely to

Except in the indigo and rice area of Carolina, towards the close of the century Negro slave labor was not considered profitable. However, the price of tobacco seemed fixed at a half a penny the pound, except for the very best grades, and the greater planters were experimenting with slaves. Lady Berkeley, Ralph Wormeley and a few others had already tried Negro workers on fairly large scale operations and found them profitable. A Negro, after a year's training, did as much as a white servant, and his food and clothes cost hardly half as much as those of an indentured man or woman. The Negro could not run away to the frontier, because the Indians would kill him; he did not expect a heifer, a new suit of clothes and two pigs if he were set free; and in case a black man were freed, he hardly knew what to do - he certainly could not claim a hundred acres of land. Hence a freed Negro was not a free man. Everywhere vestries and county courts had been pondering these questions and rendering decisions: if a Negro became a Christian, he must still remain a slave; if a Negro woman bore children, they were in some cases the property of her master,

in other cases they were considered free at twenty-one; if a free Negro wished to vote, the privilege was sometimes granted. Thus definite laws were due just about the time manhood suffrage in Maryland and Virginia was changed to freehold suffrage.<sup>1</sup>

Between 1664 and 1682 the tobacco planters, so sorely troubled about prices and unpayable debts in England that they actually pulled up their crops over wide areas, enacted the first slave codes of Southern history, the South Carolinians having adopted the practices of Barbados. The Negro servant now became a slave for life; Negro children were the property of the owners of their mothers; a slave was forbidden to own or bear arms of any kind; there could be no assemblies or public speaking of Negroes at any time; no black person might leave his master's plantation without a visa; if a slave struck a white person he was to receive forty lashes, no matter who was to blame; and if a master killed a slave it was not a crime, it not being assumed that masters would

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1. Catterall, Mrs. Helen J.: Judicial Cases Concerning American Slavery and the Negro gives all available court records on these subjects.

kill their slaves except in self-defense. If a master freed a slave after 1682, he must supply the means of transporting him to Africa, where no Negro wished to go. Slavery was, therefore, a fixture before the revolution of 1688 came, and it eased a little the economic depression in all the tobacco region.

During the four decades of almost continuous European war, 1672-1713, the tobacco and rice planters turned more and more to the slave system. The increasing number of privateers and pirates who slipped into mainland harbors, sold slaves and took tobacco or rice at high prices, increased speculation everywhere. Nor was England able to guard mainland and West Indian coasts against unlawful Dutch, French and New England traders. Nearly all the troubled Europeans who could escape poured into Pennsylvania as poor freemen or indentured servants, Negroes being taken to the plantation areas. From little Baltimore to the emerging Beaufort of lower Carolina the process went on, and at last prosperity seemed to be restored, prosperity based on freer trade and increasing numbers of slaves.



Nor was there neglect of culture ideals. William and Mary helped the Virginians establish the first college in the Old South. A similar school was founded in Charles Town. Some young men went to Oxford and Cambridge and afterwards studied law under famous English masters. Young women lingered in London in the hope of being seen at Court and learning how to dress and behave like true gentlefolk. All the Southern assemblies permitted lawyers to function in local and general courts and make money in devious ways - a practice which had been forbidden and frowned upon in the earlier days.

During these years the planters fixed themselves, built handsome brick houses on river promontories, surrounded them with dozens of one-room cabins for Negroes and beautiful gardens and lawns for their family recreations. White servants who did not move to the free frontier lands became share-tenants or slowly degenerated into "poor whites" whose descendants became more helpless and more numerous as the emerging aristocracy expanded westward and southward. The "great house" of a Lee in Virginia or a Middleton in Carolina was dur-

eighteenth century not unlike the castle of a Seymour or Craven in southern or western England. There were porters, carriage drivers, gardeners, valets, cooks and maids who occupied privileged positions as compared with their fellow slaves; there were scores of men and women who worked from sun to sun in the fields and the forests under Negro foremen and white overseers; and there were white folk who came on occasion to the "great house" with hat in hand to get contracts covering their operations, or to take directions about the management of their <sup>1.</sup> poor sandy farms.

There was a school house near the "great house" where a poor Oxford or Cambridge graduate or the local preacher taught the planter's children, as well as those of his poor neighbors, the three R's; there was a great dining-room where kinspeople or friends often came three-score miles to birthday or marriage feasts and dances; as the eighteenth century advanced there were stables for riding and driving horses; and there was in many, if not most,

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1. Harrison, Fairfax published in 1855 the Memoirs of a Negro Refugee in Virginia, 1835, which gives many interesting touches upon the social distinctions of the plantation system.

cases a river harbor or landing place where hundreds of bogsheads of tobacco were exported annually and where people took ship for long sojourns in England. The master of the modified manor was generally a vestryman of the established church, although he was not to be a deist; he was also a justice of the county court, and he had a little office in the corner of his great yard or grove where he had law books and often tried cases of minor significance; and he was apt to be a member of the legislature of his colony, sometimes a member of the sacro-sanct Colonial Council with a commission signed by His Royal Majesty himself. He was not the Landgraf or the Baron that so many of the entrepreneurs of 1630 and 1653 had expected to become: he was the self-made planter without a title, rather crude in manner and dress, but enterprising and speculative in character. The service he rendered as vestryman or justice of the county court was never compensated - it would have been a dishonor widely criticized for him to take or ask payment from the county treasury; he regarded himself as a public servant. But he rarely paid the quit rents due to the British Government; he frequently

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procured great tracts of land on the border of his province through the listing of names that did not exist and even the addition of ciphers to the figures in his grant. And he often gave freed white servants small tracts of land in order to make them freeholders and to command their allegiance in electoral contests, a custom which prevailed more than a hundred years. But it was not easy to rear successful heirs, although the English custom of giving the major part of one's estate to the eldest son still prevailed. Since one's land was exhausted in eight or ten years and his slaves doubled in number every twenty years, poverty would be the lot of one's eldest son and slaves would be a liability.<sup>1</sup>

But the structure was fairly complete everywhere before William and Mary mounted the throne of the Stuarts; and the vast expanse of free lands and the numberless Negroes one might import from Africa gave promise of increasing wealth and social eminence. However, the relaxing trade

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<sup>1</sup> Craven, Avery O.: Soil Exhaustion in Virginia and Maryland gives excellent account of this problem in early tobacco region.

policy of the new monarchs and the twenty-five years of terrible wars in Europe hastened the growth of the new American feudalism and gave it a definite and fixed character ten years before 1730.

William of Orange had represented the principle of free trade so long before his famous Patent of 1688, that he could hardly be expected to enforce his dethroned father-in-law's stern decrees against his own Dutch subjects who always paid a Virginia or a Carolina planter twice as much for tobacco or sugar as a British monopolist would pay. There was, then, a less rigid commercial control in London, although Stuart laws were not repealed, which gave the planters their second era of prosperity. Planter estates with scores of slaves and half-scores of children adorned the banks of rivers and navigable inlets all the way from the upper Chesapeake Bay to the Savannah River. The Virginia landlords looked hopefully over the Blue Ridge mountains in 1716, and the slave-holding Huguenots of Carolina found their ways far up the enriching Cooper and Santee valleys about the same time. There was hardly a question anywhere now

of the right of a white man to own a black man; and the profits of the system were such that new and more severe slave codes were enacted in all the colonies between 1705 and 1719. Negroes were so tightly clamped in their servile status that occasional revolts frightened the master class and naturally tightened the curious relations of poor whites to their wealthier neighbors. But there was no thought of emancipation, although up-country freemen and small farmers warned against the increasing importation of slaves.

Nor was the unceasing war against Louis XIV without great influence. It gave freer rein to the privateers and pirates who infested the central and western Atlantic as never before. These ruthless robbers and traders, with retreats on the north shore of Cuba, carried trinkets and liquors to the west coast of Africa and brought slaves to Charleston and the Chesapeake Bay in sharp competition with the regular British commercialists. Nor were the energetic New Englanders unwilling to participate in this marvellous upbuilding of the Old South.

The Louis XIV wars had another decisive influence

upon American institutions. Thousands of distressed Germans began to migrate as poor freemen or indentured servants to William Penn's Quaker democracy. And the increasing number of slaves in the plantation area diverted Scotch and Irish poor folk in the same direction. For fifty years the process continued, and the result was the more definite fixing of the slave system upon the South, the complete social control of the wealthier class and the gradual emergence of a unique leadership in American history. This planter element of the Old South which hardly amounted to more than twenty-five thousand souls in 1720, gave rise to more distinguished and long-lived families than any other five million people known to American history. And any student of public life is amazed at the number of real statesmen which this privileged class gave the world in 1776 - leaders who, like Washington, Mason and Jefferson, were always ready to free their scores of slaves and become relatively poor farmers for the good of their fellows.

The first American social order was thus a curious product of the arbitrary policy of the Earl of Clarendon, the democratic instincts of poor freemen and indentured servants and the long and bitter struggle of five million Englishmen against twenty million Frenchmen trying to dominate the continent of Europe.



REF: Dued  
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Berlin, May 9, 1935.

Personal

Dear Mr. President:

The remark with which you closed your letter of April 16 only emphasizes the attitudes of us all here: What can anyone do now to change the fixed drift everywhere towards war? I sometimes wonder if all democratic peoples ought not to withdraw their representatives to countries which flout all democratic principles and talk constantly of the great honor of bearing arms, shooting fellow-men and the necessity of annexing other peoples' territory.

You know how Wilson struggled in Paris to show Europe how foolish such policies are. The United States saved Italy from conquest in 1918, yet Italian statesmen (?) behaved as if they had won the war, and they made annexations which started the movement which now has that country in a hopeless position. That is, Italy is armed and drilled to the last degree. If Mussolini ceases building great warships, stops making bombing planes or sends his million soldiers to their homes (he is adding 500,000 more), he will have an unemployment which would overthrow him - the imaginary Caesar. If he goes on arming and drilling as heretofore, the debt of his government will soon equal what a hundred billion dollars would be to us! The only other procedure is war, and that would ruin him and his country, unless England and France came to his aid. This began when the Italians demanded in Paris what they had no right to ask - yet Senator Lodge lined up Italians and Irishmen in Massachusetts in behalf of Italian demands!

The President,  
The White House,  
Washington, D.C.

The

The French Ambassador said to me here in the presence of others: "If it had not been for Wilson, we would have annexed all the German territory west of the Rhine; and that would have guaranteed European peace." But I said: "If it had not been for American assistance, the Germans would have annexed all eastern France and Belgium." The conversation was given another turn. And as to England, I have not the slightest doubt that, but for the United States, Wilhelm II. would have dictated a worse peace than Versailles in London, and taken possession of all the British fleet. He would have called himself the second William the Conqueror. The one thing for which the United States entered the war was to stop this mediaeval method of settling difficulties among peoples. Wilson said to me on August 15, 1915: "We may have to enter the war to save all Europe from Berlin domination."

But when the peace of 1918 was about to be drawn, our politicians, like Lodge, united resentful German-Americans, Irish enemies of England and Italian imperialists to take from Wilson the power the real Americans voted to give him, and as a result, the Treaty of Versailles took such a form that only a cooperative League of all nations could give any promise of world peace; and the American Senate, for party reasons, rejected the League idea, quoting Washington and Jefferson, whose very existence once depended upon international assistance and whose administrations also depended upon international attitudes.

But the German masses in 1918-20 were ready for cooperation, receiving millions of dollars from Americans to enable them to recover somewhat. But 40 billions of indemnity demanded by France plus the refusal of France to disarm, slowly brought the population back to their faith in militarism, and the Hitler-Göring-Goebbels triumvirate is the result. Practically every young German, including some women, wears a

butcher

butcher knife at his side. "Blut und Ehre" is printed on the sharp blade. University students and young "gentleman" in general fight duels as under the old régime. Children at ages of eight to twelve are taught two or three times a week to throw bombs; from twelve to eighteen they practice with rifles; and after that age all are to serve fixed periods in the standing Army - more proud of the opportunity than Italians under Mussolini. No man can doubt the meaning of this; and anybody who resists or so much as talks pacifism or democracy is imprisoned, sometimes sadly beaten up. So Hitler is another Mussolini, also another Stalin.

And Germany, now encircled, as was to have been expected, has an increasing standing Army and more than a million young men excellently trained in all except the handling of up-to-date guns. She has an amazing barracks and drill ground equipment, air fields of the most up-to-date character and underground storage arrangements in all strategic areas. How many thousands of competent pilots one cannot say; but reports say twice as many always as could be used at any one time. The manufacture of arms and tanks and poison gases goes on day and night. There is a national debt, half of it short-term floating, of about 40 billion marks, about half as heavy, according to resources, as that of Italy. Two years from now Germany will have a population of 67,000,000 increasing faster than the populations of both France and England, and the completest military machine in the world. Last night, talking to the Admiral of the Navy, as I said: "In rather short time you will have by far the greatest Army in Europe, abundant supplies of weapons, a debt about as burdensome as that of Italy (about which he had been speaking) and increasing unemployment. What will you do?" He said: "Go to war." That is what Dr. Schacht said six months ago to me. The Chancellor always says to such inquiries: "Peace, peace, always." At the same time we know that he is placing police all over the de-militarized Rhine zone, police who have been well drilled. There is an assembly

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of Ausland-Germans called to meet at Königsberg in June. In the call it was stated that all the country along the Baltic coast "ought to be ours, and we urge attendance of Germans all the way to the Black Sea"; report of this in our last pouch. I can see no other objective than conquest. Why should we and other representatives of foreign countries be urged to attend movies here which make Napoleon I. a great hero and repeat the idea: "Er ist der Fuehrer des ganzen Europas", with hearty applause from audiences? One needs not to give further proof, though I know there is a wing of the Reichswehr whose leaders are very fearful lest some blunder precipitate the issue too soon.

Everything I have noticed here tends to show that Germany and Japan have some entente. The new Ambassador has several times betrayed evidence in that direction to me. The Japanese Naval Attaché was here about two weeks for conferences late April and early May. He is almost an understudy of Goering; and the fastest submarines ever made are now building at Wilhelmshaven. Once a break occurs in the Baltic or Austrian areas, I shall look for a break in the Far East. It is not insignificant that three weeks ago Tokyo and Berlin Foreign Offices opened long-distance conversations. While I do not think the Chancellor will wish to make a war before May 1937 or '38, I believe I am right in saying that it is a fixed purpose. Such is the view of every leading diplomat here.

You say: "What can one do?" I can only rehearse some of the false moves we have made. All Europe was prostrate 1918-20. The Americans had fought simply to end war, and Americans were then due 11 billions public and several other billions private debts. Wilson had made definite constitutional commitments. All the leading Republicans over the preceding decades had supported the World Court at the Hague - all Europe, except Germany, favorable. Leading Republicans had agitated for

a world league to enforce peace. Under Wilson, most Democrats had come to the same view, and the Europeans, in spite of their animosities, accepted the League of Nations constitution. Wilson also urged lower tariffs in order to avoid economic depression and to enable Europe to pay her debts. No one who knows our history or European behavior over the last three decades can doubt that Wilson's policy was the one promise of a better era.

The Senate minority defeated the League idea; Congress (under minority business pressure) raised tariffs to heights never before contemplated; and our people lost their loans to the outside world and then made other loans to help get exports over tariff walls - and lost those too. And hence we have the existing status, the worst known to all history - and everybody returning to the mediaeval folly of 1914, including ourselves. If anybody wishes to get the true picture of Senate conduct in 1918-20, D. F. Fleming in the United States and the League of Nations gives it. Nobody has replied to this sole book or tried to refute any part of it.

Since our country is so deeply involved and has made such terrible blunders, I would endeavor in some way to retrace our steps. If we had entered the League in 1919, Mussolini and Hitler would not be in existence today; if we had realized the meaning of freer commerce, our billions would not have been lost; and the wider commerce and partial payment of debts would have saved us half of the depression - the other half being due to Europe and false industrial policy long followed.

This is my appraisal of things. Whether it is too late for so great a people to exert decisive influence I cannot say; but I believe if English-speaking peoples cooperated, without imperialistic practices anywhere, we could save modern civilization another world war.

Sincerely yours,

*William E. Dodd*



PSF:Jedd

William E. G. (2)

file

~~Confidential~~

Berlin, February 24, 1935.

Dear Judge Moore:

When you see the President, I wish you would say to him that at the request of the Appropriations Committee of the House and the Foreign Affairs Committee of the Senate I went over important questions affecting us. He asked me to report to him, especially what the Foreign Affairs Committee's reactions were. You know I saw the Committee two days after the last interview with the President. Borah seemed to make a point of being absent, but other members of the Committee, including Johnson, were present and remained some time after lunch on February 8. Members of the Committee told me that two Senators who had voted against the World Court were surprised at the outcome, and that they said that they would have changed their votes had they realized what was going to happen and especially what it meant. Senator Johnson started the discussion about historical precedents, and I gave him facts about certain minority attitudes in the past and indicated how unfortunate they had been. That led to discussions of Washington's violation of the Constitution (much against his desire) and also of Lincoln's notable violation and his propaganda work in England. This seemed to surprise Johnson, and when every member of the Committee present heard me say that the vote on the World Court was very unfortunate, that it would seriously affect commercial relations and make it impossible for us to raise the question against violation of our treaties before a court which might not give us compensations but which would give us great moral advantages, Johnson kept silent during the rest of the discussion. Other members, even those who apparently had voted contrarily, seemed a little surprised at my statement that our Government's prestige in Europe would have been

raised

The Honorable  
A. Walton Moore,  
Assistant Secretary of State,  
Washington, D.C.

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raised by about 50 percent. I said this was not due to the importance of our cooperating. It was due to the fact that the situation, especially in Berlin, was such that everybody would attribute the drift towards negotiations and peaceful solutions to the Roosevelt attitude. When the last question was raised, I cited McGraw's book, especially to Johnson, indicating that our country had repudiated between 1880 and 1885 something like 200 millions of valid obligations and had failed to pay interest on nearly all obligations for a period of ten years. This sort of discussion seemed a little perturbing, and once more Johnson insisted on silence. However, there was no disposition on his part to reassert his former attitude. I had the feeling after the adjournment of the Committee that if the matter had been cleared up before all members of the Committee prior to their vote we should have had a different result.

The Committee on Appropriations asked specifically what I thought about the Bluecher Palace business. I said to them that we had \$1,700,000 invested; that I didn't believe we could sell it for more than \$500,000; that it would probably be wise to make an appropriation during the next few months for finishing the structure. This I think would enable all the representatives of the Government to have offices under one roof. There are certain disadvantages, I said, but that I didn't see any other way out, and that if the work were undertaken in the next year I thought registered marks might be used in such way as to save a considerable amount of the costs. Merrill has estimated the cost at about \$700,000. I added that if I had been called on originally to pass on the matter, I never would have put so much money in the venture. However, I would not like to lose a million dollars and consequently saw no other way out than for the Committee to make the appropriation.

The Chairman and every member present agreed that it seemed to them the best solution, though they suggested that there should be no great display and waste, which of course I agreed to. I left a brief memorandum with Chairman Buchanan, and I wish you would indicate to the President this fact so that he will know about what our attitude is. I understood that the State Department was of the same opinion.

Sincerely yours,

William E. ...

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PSF: DODD

ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF STATE  
WASHINGTON

*File  
Dodd  
(S) (S)*

March 13, 1935.

[2-27-35]

Dear Mr. President:

Here is another letter from Dr. Dodd written previous to the one I handed you this morning and which you need not return. I can send him a copy of the clipping for his file.

After seeing you I 'phoned Sandlin that you will find an opportunity to talk with him.

Yours very sincerely,

*R. Walter Brown*

Enclosure:

Letter from Dr.  
Dodd with news-  
paper clipping.

The President,

The White House.

1299

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England getting first advantages and  
Germany second. <sup>might</sup> you note items in  
enclosed clipping.

Here again we are reasoning from  
the premises of Woodrow Wilson - hated  
everywhere in Europe and misunderstood  
in our country. So I must close. I  
shall write Mr. Wilson about personal  
matter soon as I can make another  
survey. But I think it would be un-  
wise for us in Berlin if other trans-  
fers and reductions of personnel were  
put into effect before everybody knows  
that similar changes had been applied  
in London and Paris.

One thing more: in existing state of  
things in Europe the idea of holding a  
conference of American representatives  
would be useless. When I wrote to Constant,  
a story ran over Berlin that I was  
there to confer with Bismarck, former and  
deposed German chancellor!

William E. Dodd

UNITED STATES LI



If you can  
afford to clip it,  
please do.

On Board S. S. Feb 20, 1919

Dear Judge Moore:

I am enclosing a clipping  
which gives a fair estimate of com-  
mercial drift in Europe. You see the  
effects of Nationalism carried to  
extremes: the United States and Ger-  
many in similar economic drifts,  
especially if we fall further for mi-  
nority withholds of imports and labor  
retentions [30 hr. week]. I doubt whether  
Senators can ever again realize the  
meaning for the masses of this  
hypernationalism. If the President could  
reduce tariffs 5% <sup>per year</sup> on necessary arti-  
cles, leaving it high on luxury imports,  
over a period of five years, recovery  
for the masses of your people

would come faster than from any other  
more - of course based on similar re-  
ductions of barriers in Europe.

We have had another stormy trip, every  
day but two from New York to Haue.  
This sort of thing keeps me half ill all the  
time; but the "Washington" is as convenient  
for storms as <sup>other vessels</sup> any, though a little slow.  
My only criticism of management is  
the instinctive habit of trying to over-  
speed even on a rough sea - and the over-  
service of our ships. We do not need  
two waiters for every table of eight  
people - 400 waiters, officers and others,  
are not necessary to carry 400 passen-  
gers. Nor can I understand huge subven-  
tions for maintaining ships on  
the ocean [U.S. Eng. France, Germany and  
Italy], when all countries block com-  
merce and forbid migration! Think  
of the "Green Mary" and similar French  
ship now building!

But you and I are old-time liberals  
who can not understand policies based  
on contradictions - maybe I ought to  
know to prove that civilization is based  
abandoning all modern commercial

You will have seen that Hitler is negotia-  
ting with England and France on possibility  
of European air-coast cooperation and that  
Russia puts down her foot for Eastern  
European agreement. This will compel Ger-  
many to show her hand or hasten her  
entente with Japan [with her East trade  
concessions]. I shall try to get at facts  
and cable Department war before this  
letter reaches you: one man in Berlin is  
up to give a bit of light. But if Ger-  
many accepts air cooperation, she is  
almost certain to vote towards League;  
if she enters League, with all other great  
powers around the table, we are sure to  
pay penalties in two ways: continued  
European barriers and more aggressive  
moves in Latin America <sup>not mentioning Far East</sup>.

*London Express*

5 FEBRUARY 21, 1935

## TIDE IS Rising and Share Be

# BRITAIN BACK TO 1929 MARK

### COTTON EXPORT FORGING AHEAD

"Daily Express" Industrial  
Correspondent.

**T**HESE facts stand out  
in the latest survey of  
world trade compiled by  
the League of Nations:—

Britain's industrial activity  
is back to the 1929 level, and is  
still rising.

Other countries in this cate-  
gory are Denmark, Italy, Japan,  
Norway, Rumania, Sweden and  
Russia. Germany is making  
strides back to the 1930 level.

In building activity Britain  
leads easily, with Italy a far-  
behind second.

Cost of living is practically station-  
ary in Great Britain, but there are  
marked increases in some of the  
other leading exporting countries,  
notably the United States, Germany,  
Japan, and Denmark. This will  
make it difficult for these countries  
to maintain their exports; the United  
States and Germany are already  
faced with the prospect of a marked  
shrinkage.

United States cost of living index  
has risen from 77 to 82 in a year,  
and is expected to increase another  
3 points this quarter.

### COMPETITION EASIER

The lift-men's strike in New York  
was the first symptom of America's  
dilemma. During the next three  
months production costs in many  
United States industries will make  
competition much easier for Britain.

Our main exporting advantage will  
lie in South American countries, the  
Far East, and Australia. Already  
Britain's most important exporting  
industry, cotton, shows a big leap  
forward.

Cotton is promised a year of  
marked expansion. In November the  
export was £15,000 higher than in  
November 1933. By December this  
increase had risen to £167,000.

In January the increase was  
more than £342,000 compared with  
January 1931.

In the same month Japan's cost  
of living index had risen to its  
highest point since 1930. It has been  
rising steadily for the past two years.

### BIG ORDERS

There is a busy time ahead for  
Britain. The Russian Government is  
negotiating with three British ship-  
building firms for twenty timber-  
carrying steamers.

Mexico will place orders in this  
country within the next three days  
for ten fast motor-driven gunboats  
for anti-smuggling service.

Portugal yesterday placed an order  
for £50,000 worth of Blackburn  
"Shark" aircraft for coastal defence,  
and Norway is buying Armstrong  
Whitworth "Schmkar" single-seater  
fighters.

These orders were secured in com-  
petition with European and Ameri-  
can interests.

Two other points emerge from the  
League statistics. Britain is among  
the four best-placed countries in the  
production of pig-iron, steel, and  
coal—and in the list of decreased  
company liquidations.

704

TREAS. DEPT.

June 6

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

June 25, 1935.

MEMORANDUM FOR

THE STATE DEPARTMENT

Will you send a line to  
the Ambassador that my old friend -  
SAMUEL R. FULLER, JR. - is going  
to Berlin and to show him every  
courtesy, especially in regard  
to assistance in meeting the  
German officials?

S. D. R.

*File  
Hold till  
further notice*

1299

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

June 26, 1935.

My dear Ambassador Dodd:-

A very old friend of mine, who was closely associated with me in the Navy Department days -- SAMUEL R. FULLER, JR. -- is going to Berlin, and I hope much that he will have an opportunity to have a talk with Herr Schacht and, if possible, with the Chancellor himself. I should, of course, not be brought into it in any way, but he has seen both of them once and I shall be glad to have his new reactions if he can see them once more.

Always sincerely,

Honorable William E. Dodd,  
American Embassy,  
Berlin,  
Germany.

Dodd from

Dodd —

[June 1935.]

When Father gets to  
Berlin I hope he will  
see Hitler, Schacht etc.

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Prof. Dodd

August 14, 1935.

My dear Dodd:-

Many thanks for that interesting letter of yours. I am very glad to have your slant on the much mixed situation. A year ago I was fairly optimistic -- today I am the opposite.

On domestic matters I am much more cheerful. There is much smoke but we are winning through.

Always sincerely,

Honorable William E. Dodd,  
American Embassy,  
Berlin,  
Germany.

PST: Jedd

July 29, 1935

Dear Mr. President:

This may reach you too late to be of any value - though I shall telegraph you before letter's arrival in case of necessity.

Some phases of German situation assume a different aspect from that was supposed to be fixed upon at Stresa and Geneva last April. It was fairly certain May 1 that the encirclement policy of France would be applied. But Hitler's speech of May 21 as well as growing British uneasiness

led to the unexpected Naval Agreement.

This is the first time, I believe, in modern history that England has sided with a threatening imperialist European power, rather than guide a combination of weaker powers against the threatening one: Louis XIV and Napoleon I are best illustrations. I think England's unprecedented attitude is due to the hope that she can moderate Hitler's conduct and still keep on fair terms with France. Of course, the English people are more pacifist than ever before.

This is the first and vital phase of the new situation. The second is the Mussolini policy. France agreed in this case to support Italy simply to increase her prestige in the Balkan zone and balance Germany's

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increasing from now. France did not think Italy would actually go to war; but she seems to have mis-judged and now the situation is very tense so all the world knows. One may guess events a little better if one knows that Hitler constantly studies Napoleon I and causes Napoleon films to be shown in Germany. The old royalist crowd used to pay similar tribute to Napoleon. At the same time Mussolini writes The Hundred Days, a play which shows the French emperor to have been the savior of Europe. So one need not be sure these dictators can be long restrained. But I must add that Hitler and even his moderate supporters, von Neurath and Schacht, hope and pray that Mussolini will go to war.

If this happens England and France can hardly prevent Hitler from dominating [even assuming part of] the Balkan region. His one objective is to expand in this direction. I shall see the Italian Ambassador here as soon as he returns from a "cure" [Rome?] and ask

So many powerful folk have been fighting for. So only the utilities  
bill would pass in for us? Yours sincerely

latest moves. if he talks at all.

The Japanese attitude embarrasses Germany a little because the Germans fear it may halt Mussolini whom they wish to eclipse in some way. I am calling Carruti's attention to this. We have much evidence that Germany and Japan are secretly allied and that any war might bring active co-operation. Never has Germany been more warlike, although "peace" is frequently preached. Our military attaches reports show how far armaments have gone and that 2,000,000 young Germans are waiting volunteers now - no conscription necessary in some lines. They expect to have 8,000,000 trained in a few years. It is said now that confiscation of Jewish property is to be resorted to in order to meet urgent expenses.

My hope is that England, France and perhaps the U.S. can crowd Italy out of Africa through League pressure, that Russia and the Balkan states will lend support and thus isolate Japan and Germany again. If not world war - terrible horrors - is fairly certain.

Congratulations on your success

PSF - Germany

Dodd.

PSF: [unclear]

April 16, 1935.

My dear Dodd:-

That is an extraordinarily interesting letter of yours of March twentieth. The gentleman who gave you the story I have always regarded as an extremely fair-minded, thorough-going newspaperman. He has found, after many years, like almost every other employee, that the particular employer for whom he has worked is, in many ways, a thoroughly dangerous member of society. I wish much that your informant could be persuaded to write out the whole truth as he has seen it, covering the past twenty years. Even if he does not publish it immediately as a part of his autobiography, it would be a fine thing for him to do for posterity.

We are naturally much concerned here over the results at Stresa and the events of the next few months. As I told you, I feel very helpless to render any particular service to immediate or permanent peace at this time.

My best wishes to you,

As ever yours,

Honorable William E. Dodd,  
American Embassy,  
Berlin,  
Germany.

ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF STATE  
WASHINGTON

April 10, 1935.

Dear Mr. President:

During your absence from Washington the enclosure herewith came to me in a letter from Dr. Dodd, with the request that I hand it to you as soon as possible.

Yours very sincerely,

*R. Walter Stone*

Enclosure:  
Sealed letter  
from Ambassador  
Dodd, at Berlin.

The President,  
The White House.

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~~Confidential~~

Berlin, March 20, 1935.

Dear Mr. President:

In accordance with my promise of February 6, I am giving an exact narrative of the conversation I had on March 15 with Karl von Wiegand, for more than 25 years principal correspondent of the International News Service in Central Europe. Karl von Wiegand, as you may possibly have heard, was a very strongly pro-German representative through the Great War. I have evidence that in March 1918, when the Allies thought they were about to be defeated, Colonel House commissioned von Wiegand to go to Sweden, remain a while and if conditions got worse, contact with high German officials in the hope of making some sort of terms for our Government. This shows how critical things were at one moment and how much confidence was placed in a German-American who was intimately acquainted with von Hindenburg and others of the German General Staff.

Since the present régime began, von Wiegand has been very much embarrassed, and Hearst has been even more embarrassing to him. A little more than a year ago he and George Vincent were guests at my house, and he told us then how Hearst had subsidized Mussolini. That is why I gave you the statement of February 6. Then von Wiegand came the other day, I asked him if he was willing to give me the whole story. He said yes, provided the President and myself alone were to have this information:

In 1924, Hearst sent Bertilli, one of his best correspondents, to Italy for a series of articles designed to appraise accurately the Mussolini movement. After a month or so of work, the first article was sent to Hearst. It was plain enough that the verdict of Bertilli was not flattering.

The President,  
The White House,  
Washington, D.C.

It

It had also been understood that Hearst had no sympathy with dictatorial governments. Strangely enough, Bertilli was recalled and all his work scrapped. Another strange thing, Gianini, President of the Italian Bank System of California, an ardent supporter of Mussolini, agreed to lend Hearst some millions of dollars, Hearst being thought at that time to be in embarrassing financial circumstances. Our friend, and son-in-law of President Wilson, William G. McAdoo, negotiated the deal and the loan was duly made.

Hearst then sent me (von Fiegand) to Rome for an interview with Mussolini, and asked me to engage him to write articles whenever he chose for the Hearst press at \$1 a word. Mussolini was greatly pleased and he wrote articles over a number of years, and I delivered to him large checks from time to time. From that time on Hearst was considered by his correspondents as an ally of Mussolini.

In 1932, Hearst came to Nauheim for a cure. The desire of German high officials for an interview was so great that they made several approaches. At last von Hindenburg himself asked Hearst to come to Berlin to talk to him. Hearst declined, for reasons a little obscure, but he said to me that it would be unwise, and I agreed with him. In 1934 he came with a big party, including his mistress, and spent the summer at Nauheim. Once more representatives of the German Government visited him, and finally Rosenberg (editor of the VOELKISCHER BEOBACHTER and representative of German foreign propaganda work) made an engagement for him to see the Chancellor, and he flew to Berlin one night in September. The next day he had an interview of nearly an hour with the Chancellor, and he reported to me that he was greatly impressed with the genius and friendliness of Hitler. This surprised me, as it also was embarrassing. A little later he asked me to negotiate a deal with Goebbels for supplying the German Propaganda Ministry with all the Hearst news service. I declined. Hearst then appointed Hillman, of London, to work out the deal, and I went to London to continue my work for the International News Service. Hillman

arranged

arranged for the Propaganda Ministry to have all continental Hearst information in Europe delivered to its office at the same time it went to the Hearst press over the world. For this service Hearst was to receive \$200,000 a year, and he at once began to bring pressure to bear on his correspondents to give only friendly accounts of what happened in Germany. When he pressed that upon me, I offered to resign. He insisted that I continue anyway, but I learned a little later that all my reports from Germany went directly to Hearst and were re-edited so as to fit the new program. About the time the deal was completed, the German Propaganda Ministry demanded of Hearst my dismissal. However, some representatives of the Reichswehr intervened on my behalf, and although I did not know it, Hearst had not consented to my removal. He did, however, issue an order to E. R. Knickerbocker, one of his special correspondents, never again to enter Germany; and he at the same time sent Bosch-Fleuret here from Paris to administer the service in such a way that it would always be friendly to the Hitler régime. However, Bosch-Fleuret's attitude in the winter of 1934-35 began to change, and now he is called home for discipline. I might add that other representatives of the service in Germany have been dismissed, and still others dislike to write one-sided reports.

You will see from von Wiegand's statements that what I told you about Hearst being an ally of Mussolini and Hitler is correct. Von Wiegand prefers not to sign the document, but he asked me to give it verbatim, which I have done as nearly as possible. Von Wiegand is now definitely settled in Paris, with permission to return only on special occasion to Berlin. I have the idea that he could tell more about what has transpired in Berlin, both during the Great War and during the Hitler revolution, than any other man who was not a part of the picture. He tells me he is writing his autobiography, but I said to him that I doubted whether he or anyone could tell the whole truth.

Under

Under these circumstances, it would seem to me that Hearst's influence in the United States ought not to be so great. Personally, I cannot see how anyone who has watched his career closely the last two decades can accept any of his interpretations of international affairs. Yet, as you know, great masses of the people were herded into propaganda attitudes the last week in January, and he thus gave the appearance of representing the majority of opinion in the United States.

Sincerely yours,

*William E. Dodd*

Prof. Dodd

June 27, 1935

Dear Mr. President:

Permit me to introduce my friend Mr. Karl von Wiegand whose work you know and whose personal relations with many European leaders will enable him to give you valuable information. Mr. von Wiegand has been in Berlin a great part of his time during the last twenty five years.

With congratulations on what you have done these last months.  
Yours sincerely  
William E.

<b>CROSS-REFERENCE</b> (Name, number, or subject under which this form is filed)			
		➤	
<b>IDENTIFICATION OF RECORD</b>	DATE	November 28, 1935	
	TO		
	FROM		
	BRIEF SUMMARY OF CONTENTS	Address delivered by Ambassador William E. Dodd at Thanksgiving Day Dinner, Berlin, Hotel Esplanade	
<b>FILED</b> (Name, number, or subject under which the document itself is filed)		Hopkins Papers, Sherwood Collection, Book 2: Interventionists # 1.	
Optional Form 21 Feb. 1962 GSA Circular 259		<b>CROSS-REFERENCE</b>  RHP 2-8-71  299 101	

7SF 111  
At Warm Springs, Ga.,  
December 2, 1935.

My dear Dodd:-

I am glad to know from yours of October thirty-first that I was right in assuming that there had been no real change in German policy for the last few months. "It seems clear that from the point of view of the group which now controls the destinies of the German people, their policy is succeeding admirably. Germany got an acceptance, passive though it may have been, of her rearmament by land and sea. Germany has kept out of the Italian situation by resigning from Geneva. Germany seems to be staving off actual bankruptcy through the tricky Schacht policies which win him the admiration of the international bankers.

I wish I could talk with you at length in regard to the Neutrality situation. If you had been here I do not think that you would have felt the Senate Bill last August was an unmitigated evil. The crux of the matter lies in the deep question of allowing some discretion to the Chief Executive. Quite aside from any connection with the League, the President should have some discretion. For example, if some European power were to seek, by force of arms, a raw material source in South America, we should have to take sides and might, without going to war ourselves, assist the South American nation with supplies of one kind or another. Complete stoppage of all arms material



in the broadest sense in the case of a European conflict can be attained, and last summer's law tends in that direction. Meanwhile, the country is being fairly well educated, and I hope that next January I can get an even stronger law, leaving, however, some authority to the President.

I do not know that the United States can save civilization but at least by our example we can make people think and give them the opportunity of saving themselves. The trouble is that the people of Germany, Italy and Japan are not given the privilege of thinking.

As ever yours,

Honorable William E. Dodd,  
American Embassy,  
Berlin,  
Germany.

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AA 107

PS = ; Hedd

Berlin, October 31, 1935.

Dear Mr. President:

There is no real change of policy here since I wrote you some months ago. While Hitler has not said a word publicly since last May on German foreign policy, Goebbels and Göring have frequently made statements as belligerent as ever. Göring's boast at Breslau October 26 about rapid re-armament and re-employment in arms factories was so challenging that parts of his speech were not published here. A vast army and annexations on the northern and eastern fronts are commonly accepted as quite as definite a program as Mussolini's Julius Caesar idea. I am informed today reliably, I believe, that 26 aircraft officers leave for Japan this week-end. There were already 70 Japanese officers at German military barracks. The Russian Ambassador says he is fairly certain of German-Japanese alliance. This tends to show there has been no change.

Your proclamation of October 5 and the Secretary's speech of October 10 produced a lot of sympathetic feeling here, the newspapers even printing the most significant passages. But during the last two weeks there has been a reversion of attitude, especially since the American influence seems to give the League actual power to stop Italy. Dr. Schacht a few days ago almost denounced the English-League demand that Italy be barred from taking colonial area. There have been as much exports to Italy as possible since September 1. The financial positions of both countries are such that exchange of goods, barter, is the chief method: economic nationalism, urged in the United States. One thing is certain here: the early defeat or forced withdrawal of Italy from Ethiopia would be considered

The President,  
The White House,  
Washington, D.C.

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a serious set-back for German autocratic-military procedure. If Italy succeeds, it is the common feeling that the two dictatorships would unite upon a policy of aggression.

This brings to my mind again the conviction that the Senate minority attitude last February was favorable to war. That is, we did as much to encourage German and Italian aggressions on weaker neighbors as either Germany or Italy had done up to October 1. I offered my resignation as a protest against minority dictation in our country. Judge Moore and the Secretary thought such a protest would be unwise, so the matter never came to your attention. I am not blaming the Department. Its leaders know domestic politics better than I; but I still think I made a mistake in not simply handing you my protest resignation. However, our country may still bring the "civilized" world to pursue peace policies, if it can stop all shipments of arms material as you and Secretary Hull intimated October 31. While the domestic situation must be your fundamental problem, world peace is not less important. If Italy, Germany and Japan at some critical moment move at the same time in their spheres, I cannot see any way to stop dictatorships. One of the Ministers here said to me today: "In that case I would commit suicide; your country alone can save civilization."

Sincerely yours,

William E. Dodd

W04

*file  
personal*

Berlin, December 15, 1936.

Personal

Dear Mr. President:

Let me return the hearty thanks of us all here for your kind letter of November 27. I wish to add our best wishes to you and yours for a Merry Christmas and Happy New Year, the more since problems both at home and abroad are such that a happy new year would be almost miraculous.

I have thought from month to month, since we came here: "How we shall have a quiet time;" and the silence and avowed neutrality the last two months looked a little that way. But now we are in an atmosphere of strain and anxiety quite as great as last March. The English have put themselves in the worst plight they have been in since the war with all the minor states: the Balkan zone, Sweden, Norway, Denmark, Holland and Belgium. I have seen ministers of these countries the last twenty-four hours, and they talk of withdrawing from the League if England and France do not put the clamps on Italy. There is an intense fear of war and the likelihood of these little states losing their independence. One of these men, who is generally well-informed, insisted last night that Hitler replied to the British proposal on the 13th for arms limitation: We must go to war on the Soviets, and talked excitedly for minutes upon the necessity, therefore, of the immense armament here. Such as one may be annoyed at the foolish Soviet propaganda, it seems to me increasingly necessary for democratic people to avoid breaks with Russia. With Japan attacking Vladivostok, and Germany breaking into Leningrad, we should have such horrors that one can hardly imagine the consequences.

What a world we live in! Industrial civilization having reached a state where it can

The President,  
The White House,  
Washington.

hardly

hardly go on without regulation, insists upon the right to arm to the limit - when majorities of peoples are concentrated in vast cities, inviting air attacks. One of our aircraft firms recently made a deal here for selling, through a German firm, 100 up-to-date war planes to Italy, the man coming to me and talking as if no such thing were thought of. Last evening an eminent German connected with the old regime said: "Now that old men are twice as numerous as before the war and young men being limited more and more in all the greater countries, we are about to start another war. Think of killing off all the young men."

This started again the urge of unofficial Germany against Mussolini. I believe two-thirds of the German people (in spite of army popularity) are now entirely in sympathy with the reported United States oil boycott of Italy - and hopeful that this would limit Hitler's crazy war activity. Perhaps this is enough; but we cannot overlook the fact that our country has immense moral influence all over the world. But can anybody convince Congressmen, who always think of their district's advantage, of the real significance of things? We think permanent prosperity is coming when the machine age needs fewer workers every year. We believe a hundred billion dollars of "watered securities" can be made valid when population is relatively declining, and apt to cease increasing altogether about 1980, when few people are willing to earn their livings in the normal way. Thus war, armaments, trade barriers and declining populations mean nothing to many governments and less to vast industrial corporations.

I hope you may be able to arouse our people to the dangers that lie ahead - next year perhaps a decisive year in many parts of the world.

Sincerely yours,

William E. Dodd

**PRESIDENT'S SECRETARY'S FILE:**

**Diplomatic Correspondence w/Germany: William E. Dodd: 1936-38**

P S F (Dodd)

January 6, 1938.

My dear Dodd:-

Thank you for that fine telegram of yours of January fourth, and also for your letter of about two weeks ago. It was your letter which confirmed my previous feeling of extreme disquiet in regard to European and Asiatic affairs. Hence the serious and, at the same time, clear note of my Message to the Congress. I am glad you liked it.

I tried to bring out that in the countries you and I are thinking about the theory of Woodrow Wilson that one can appeal to the citizens over the head of their government is no longer tenable, for the reason that the dissemination of news - real news, such for instance of my Message - is no longer possible. I shall be glad to have your report on how far the German people receive real information as to what I said about autocracies.

I do not anticipate much of a response within the autocratic nations -- but at least enough of the thought behind what I said may seep through to make peace a slightly greater probability during the coming year.

As ever yours,

Honorable William E. Dodd,  
American Embassy,  
Berlin,  
Germany.





THE SECRETARY OF STATE  
WASHINGTON

January 4, 1936.

The Secretary of State encloses for the information of the President copies of the telegrams indicated below.

Since the telegrams were transmitted in one of the Department's confidential codes, it would be appreciated if they could be returned to the Department at the President's convenience for appropriate disposition.

Enclosures:

Telegram No. - , January 4, noon, Berlin.

PSF: MCA

MED

GRAY

BERLIN

Dated January 4, 1936

Received 9:20 a.m.

Secretary of State,  
Washington

January 4, noon.

FOR THE PRESIDENT.

Congratulations on your masterly and unanswerable address. I am sure the people of our country are with you. The McReynolds proposal to Congress is given front page publicity all over Germany. If your address receives similar publicity tomorrow the effect is going to be great in spite of all limitations of free speech and I believe the whole of Europe is going to be deeply moved in the direction of peace. Shall cable official and semi-official reactions as soon as we are reasonably informed.

DODD

CSS

PSF: Dodd

*File*

DEPARTMENT OF STATE  
WASHINGTON

July 19, 1937.

My dear Mr. President:

With reference to your memorandum of July 17th and to the letter addressed to you by Ambassador Dodd under date of July 1st, which I am returning herewith, I fully share Dr. Dodd's opinion with regard to the ability and qualifications of Douglas Jenkins, our present Consul General in Berlin.

I also agree with the opinion he expresses that Jenkins would be a suitable candidate for promotion to be a Minister in certain posts. From 1918 to 1934, he served continuously in various posts in the Far East and was only transferred to his present post in Berlin in 1934. He has had no service on this continent and, consequently, would not in my judgment be available as Minister to any one of the American Republics. I think, however, that he would be well qualified to serve as Minister, should a suitable opening occur, in one of the smaller European capitals or in the Far East.

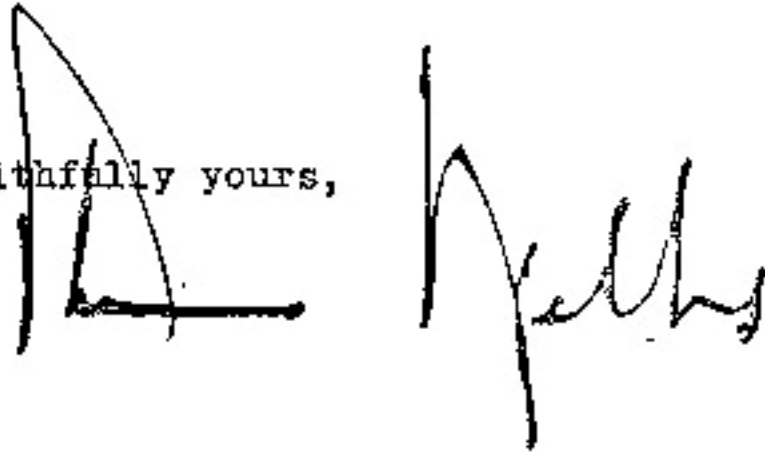
The President,

The White House.

Robert Frazer, now Consul General in London, to whom you have just offered the Legation in Salvador is senior to Jenkins and, in my opinion, has both had a wider range of experience and is an abler officer. Frazer, of course, has had experience on the American Continent and speaks Spanish fluently. Before being assigned to London, he was Consul General in Mexico City and did there an admirable piece of work.

Believe me

Faithfully yours,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read "A. H. Hells". The signature is written in a cursive, somewhat stylized font. The first part "A. H." is written with a large, looped "A" and a smaller "H". The last part "Hells" is written with a large, looped "H" and a cursive "ells".

aa02

July 1, 1937

Dear Mr. President:

Our Consul General here, Douglas Jenkins, has been in the service a long time; he is a real supporter of your democratic regime; and he has shown good judgment and industry in the difficult office here. He <sup>is</sup> from South Carolina which, I hope, is not a disgrace and is now

About 58 years old. I recommended him for promotion to a minister's post. I have described his case to the State Department, but I have the feeling that Service men there do not always consider the merits of a case as decisive factors. I hope you can nominate Jenkins to some post.

What a struggle you have to make democracy real in our country. I hope you may violate precedent and make your second term really successful.

Sincerely  
William E. Dodd

German Impressions

[Aug. 11, 1937]

Preface

The following pages are not an essay. I have made no attempt at unity or literary form. They are also by no means a unified estimate of present conditions in Germany. Anything of the kind would be entirely beyond my powers. What I have tried to do is to set down some of the more striking things that were said to me while I was in Germany, such comments on these remarks as seem to me probably sound, and a very few general conclusions of my own.

I believe that the principal defects of what I have to report and to say arise from the fact that I had no opportunity to talk with people who represent more or less the opposite type to the intellectual: I mean hard-headed, unimaginative but shrewd and competent men of affairs who have few beliefs about what is good or bad politically but are chiefly concerned for the effective running of things in the present and near future. I suspect that the opinions of such men would often be very different from those of my informants, and not less significant.

aboi



## German Impressions

In 1914 at the outbreak of the war I was pretty well acquainted with Germany. I had first visited the country in 1895, had spent four semesters in a German university in 1902, '03 and '04, and later had returned for fairly long visits four times in the summer. But since the war I had been in Germany only once for a single week, under circumstances that made it difficult for me to form clear impressions. Accordingly, when I went to Germany this summer my qualifications as an observer were good only in certain respects, for I had no more than a vague impression of the great changes that had taken place in the last two decades. It is true that I had at least the advantage of being well aware of my ignorance of these changes. One experience in particular served as a warning of this ignorance: I had noticed from time to time that some of my old German acquaintances whom I had seen in this country had quite honestly forgotten many of their prewar opinions and points of view.

The circumstances of my visit were especially favorable in that I was to meet several important Germans in a quasi-official capacity and that I was to see a good many others with whom I had professional relations or, directly or indirectly, personal relations. In all, I had conversations, most of them long conversations, with some 25 people, many of them professors and also many in other walks of life. One was a former minister of state. Another was a former member of the Reichstag, who holds a very responsible position in one of the heavy industries, another a leader of the Protestant church in Prussia. There were two students, there were the wives of several

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Note: Where I purport to quote remarks of other persons or of myself it is obvious that I am at best paraphrasing. I use this form for convenience. The statements must not be regarded as precise reproductions of the original remarks.

professors, there was a civil servant, and there was a man described to me by a responsible person as the most intelligent and experienced foreign newspaper correspondent in Berlin, and there were several others whom I shall not designate.

I had made up my mind to try to inform myself as well as possible about certain aspects of the conditions in the country, and to this end while in Germany to make an effort to listen to what I was told, to remember it and not at the time to form judgments of my own, except concerning the sincerity and objectivity of my new acquaintances. I also originally intended to ask few questions and to avoid leading questions. In many instances, however, this precaution seemed to be quite unnecessary and not infrequently a free and untrammelled discussion arose, which, so far as I could judge, entailed none of the familiar disadvantages of a debate. In fact, most people seemed eager to talk, and clearly found relief in talking freely.

There was one person who, after receiving me with great politeness and consideration, delivered a lecture of about three-quarters of an hour and carefully and skillfully avoided any suggestions that I made tending to lead him away from a prepared statement that he had clearly and precisely in mind. I attach no importance to what he said and shall disregard it because it is quite impossible for me to guess how trustworthy his remarks may have been. Two other persons were extremely reticent and gave me little or no information that I could regard as significant. There were three or four others who, speaking in the presence of a third person or for a short time, said very little. They also hardly count. There remain some fifteen or more individuals, old and young, male and female, of widely different experiences and occupations, though all, of course, of the educated classes, who freely and, so far as I could judge, frankly poured out their opinions

and expressed their feelings about a great variety of topics. I shall try first of all to put down certain statements made by these persons that seem to me sufficiently interesting to be recorded, but I shall not try to attribute them to individuals.

I was told over and over again that the situation when Hitler came into power was nearly intolerable and was rapidly getting worse (only one person explicitly denied this), that nearly everybody agreed at the time that something had to be done, and that the establishment of the Nazi regime seemed to be the only thing that could be done. One informant said that big industry, which had taken its part in putting Hitler in, was sorry within two weeks for what it had done. But much as moderates disliked the extravagances of the Nazis, at any rate for the moment, nearly everybody had agreed that the step was inevitable. Most of my informants declared that in their opinion many useful things were accomplished at the beginning of the Nazi regime and there is a considerable agreement that Hitler did in a very conspicuous degree restore the feeling of national dignity, pride and confidence, thereby giving a meaning to life for great masses of the population who had come to feel that life was really not worth living. There are some people who deny all this, but it seemed to me that they were probably so strongly hostile to the government or so lacking in ability to control their own feelings that their opinion may be disregarded.

However, I was also told in a particularly impressive interview by a man who made a deep impression on me for his courage, honesty and sincerity that the formation of a new and deep cleavage in the German people began at once, and that in his opinion that cleavage, which has grown steadily, more than counterbalances all the benefits of the two or three first years

of the Nazi government. He fears and expects that this cleavage will be the most important factor in German life for at least two generations to come.

In contrast to the favorable, if grudging and seriously qualified estimate of the results of the first years of the new government, there was substantial agreement in disapproval of the present situation. Accordingly, it seems safe to say that in a certain class or set of people in Germany a very large majority are now thoroughly hostile to the government. This raises the question of the attitude of the various classes of people through the country, and I was told much about this by many different people, mostly, I think, well informed. Here are some of the remarks. The clergy, both Catholic and Protestant, except a small minority who act as spies on their colleagues and who are quite generally regarded as beyond the pale of common decency, are opposed to the government. The great majority of devout Catholics and Protestants agree with and pretty generally follow their priests or pastors. One man whose wish it would be to believe the number as large as possible, but who seemed to me exceptionally honest, told me that this accounts for 20 per cent of the total population of Germany, say 10 per cent Catholic, 10 per cent Protestant, who are opposed to the government because of their religion.

The peasants, I was told, should be divided into two classes, peasant proprietors and agricultural laborers. It is said that the peasant proprietors are now in large majority hostile to the government. The reason given is that the minute regulations imposed upon them, the new laws about inheritance, the conditions under which mortgages may be obtained, and the

apparently arbitrary and unsound petty interferences with their everyday activities combine to irritate them, - often to the limit of their endurance. I feel pretty sure that this is true of many, but can venture no opinion about the proportions. The agricultural laborers are said to be more favorable to the government.

As for the industrial working class, I was given very little information that seemed to me trustworthy. One man seemed to think that a good many former socialists, if not communists, with a docility that is common in Germany, had accepted the present regime and come to like it. Several others were firmly of the opinion that the working men and their wives are merely hiding their feelings, which remain unchanged.

It was pretty generally said that the petty bourgeoisie, out of which the Nazi party arose and in which there were originally high hopes of better economic conditions, has become disillusioned, dissatisfied and hostile. I should guess that this is certainly true of numbers that are absolutely large, but possibly not very large relatively. Again, I have the feeling that my informants were not particularly well qualified to form an opinion.

The students are said to have undergone a great change. Originally they were overwhelmingly in favor of Hitler. I was told by a student in one provincial university that today 90 per cent of the men students in his university are hostile to the government. He added that a majority of women students were in favor of Hitler. The explanation of this latter curious fact, given by him, corroborated by his mother and by a woman of thirty who was also present, as well as by a professor, all of whom took part in the conversation, is said to be this. Hitler is unmarried. He is, therefore,

not the property of any one woman. He is a vegetarian, he does not drink, he does not smoke, and for countless thousands of German women, especially unmarried women, he has become a kind of God. They have his portrait before their eyes at work and in their rooms.

The men students of the universities are said to be hostile to the government for the following reasons: They dislike interference with their private lives, and those of the higher social classes strongly resent the suppression of the old Corps and Burschenschaften. They find the one club that the Nazis have set up in place of these others both perfectly flat and indirectly obnoxious. They resent the attempts that are made to regiment them and to discover their private opinions, and for this reason stay away from certain smaller universities where the system for accomplishing this sort of thing works smoothly. Also, they have begun rather widely to see that their instruction is not only far inferior to what it used to be, but much less than adequate to their needs.

I attach little importance to what I was told about the attitude of the top of society, whether big business or old aristocracy, except that the trend is unfavorable to Hitler.

Coming back now to the professors, who represent the class that I know best, of whom I saw the largest number and who, knowing more about me, were probably most disposed to speak freely, it will perhaps be well to go into further details. There is, I should think, all but universal conviction that the German universities have been practically destroyed as well-balanced, all round institutions of learning and of research. There is little hope that they can be presently restored to anything like their former state, and the general attitude is one of deep depression. The following episode throws light



on the attitude. It seems to me, though a slight affair, as significant as anything in my experience while in Germany. I was dining with an old friend, a professor in the University of Berlin. There were present his wife, a friend of hers who is the daughter of one of the most distinguished Jewish scientists of thirty years ago (the only 'non-Aryan'), a pupil of my friend now an assistant to him, and a pleasant, intelligent medical professor from a provincial university whom I had never seen before. After some general conversation about conditions in the United States which was not without personal significance because one daughter of the Jewess is already in America and another expects to go to America soon, the medical professor said to me something like this, "About 1910 when as an assistant I first began to see American medical men, we found it necessary to make great allowances for them because although they were good fellows their education and training had obviously been defective and they were clearly behind the best Europeans of the same age. Today we look to America as leading the world in medical science. How has such progress been possible in a quarter of a century? How far has it been due to pouring out money?" It was quite apparent that his question was really the expression of a hope that something like this might some day be possible in Germany.

To this question I replied about as follows: "We have indeed made great progress in America, but nothing like what your question implies. You are largely in error for two reasons: (1) You and practically all Germans greatly underestimated the achievements of American science 25 years ago. (2) Today you considerably overestimate our achievements and our present merits. In short, you arrive at far too great an estimate of our progress by subtracting a quantity that is much too small from a quantity that is much



too large." Thereupon there was a good deal of discussion, and at the end everybody agreed that I was probably right. For my part I have no doubt of it. My opinion that the Germans in most respects underestimated Americans before the war is no new one and is probably today generally recognized. As for their overestimate at the present time, at least in the case of the kind of people whom I saw, it seemed to me almost as obvious as the extravagance of the unfavorable criticism of America that one encounters in the daily press. Needless to say, I can form no estimate of how widely this new respectful admiration of America is distributed, but I should think it probably the characteristic of a very small element in the population of Germany and for the present a factor of absolutely no political importance. To one accustomed to the attitude of younger men twenty-five years ago, with whom I naturally associated at that time, the contrast is today, however, almost comic. Twenty-five years ago I often had a feeling that it was necessary to treat many of my contemporaries among the Germans on the intellectual level, because of their naive self-satisfaction, much as one treats the newly rich on the social level. Today I feel the need to guard myself against over-respectful admiration of America on the part of the Germans.

The atmosphere of fear, though it is perhaps exaggerated by liberals in Germany and here, is pretty conspicuous in the universities, and there is good ground for it. I was told the following story under circumstances which made the report seem entirely trustworthy. About a year ago two professors of the University of Leipzig found themselves at the end of the afternoon in the Professors' Room at the University, and one of them noticed as they were leaving that a colleague had forgotten his brief case lying on the table. They decided that they ought to look inside to find out the owner in order to return

it to him, and on opening it discovered careful notes of the private conversations of several of their colleagues, obviously destined for the authorities. The result was that the spy was cut by his colleagues and sometime later when he inquired of one of them why he was being cut, he was told the reason. Thereupon, he said "You don't suppose that I am the only person doing this, do you?"

The administration of the universities causes unhappiness not only for reasons of this kind that are largely emotional, but also on strictly technical ground. One of my informants whom I consider particularly trustworthy said to me, "Perhaps the greatest difficulty in Germany today is that men who have the education and capacity of chiefs are ruled and ordered about by men of the mentality and education of Unteroffizieren." He added that there are two exceptions, the army itself, which is beyond the control of ignorant, incompetent meddlers, and a small group around Schacht. (To this I am inclined to add, from what others have told me, a small group around von Neurath. Incidentally it is amusing, if tragic, to think of the feelings of a person like von Neurath, a Wurttemberg gentleman brought up in a hard-working, cosmopolitan, aristocratic family, and, I suppose, a competent, diplomatic technician, as he now is, firmly embedded in the Nazi regime.)

At all events the universities are run by stupid, ignorant, prejudiced, largely dishonest people. Of that I think there can be little doubt, and the unintelligent mistakes are quite as serious as the deliberate acts in their effect upon competent scholars and scientists as well as upon the instruction.

I found a few indications of sharply limited hopes for the future of the universities. First, one medical scientist said to me, "They like to say they don't need us, but they know that they do." To this I replied

"Yes, of course, they know that they need physicists, chemists and medical scientists, but what about historians?" He replied by shrugging his shoulders hopelessly. I was also told by two or three people who unquestionably know something about it at first hand that the Kaiser Wilhelm Gesellschaft is probably safer from interference now than it was a year ago, and that there is a prospect that it will have some small radiating influence. In this connection it will be interesting to set down what seems to me a remarkable and significant coincidence. Some weeks earlier I had been talking in Paris with an old friend who is one of the most intelligent Frenchmen I know, a professor at the College de France. He said to me, "In the present state of the country with all the financial and political trouble, the College de France which, in accordance with its foundation, is relatively free from government interference will play a more important part in the intellectual life of the country than it has for many years. In short, it will perhaps again fulfill the purpose of its founder." It was only about three weeks later that a man who has had an extremely responsible position in the intellectual life of Germany during the last 30 years said to me, "The Kaiser Wilhelm Gesellschaft, being relatively independent of the government, is destined to play a more important part in the intellectual life of Germany than it has in the past, and our greatest hopes center about it." The bearing of these two practically identical statements on the importance of privately endowed universities in America seems pretty evident.

The influence of the Kaiser Wilhelm Gesellschaft on the development of the physical and medical sciences in the universities is likely to be considerable and in the right direction.

From another source I learned that the organization formerly called the Notgemeinschaft, and which now bears another name more in keeping with Nazi pride, has been given more money to be used in aid of research this year than previously. These I think are small but not negligible signs of betterment.

The reports about the recruiting of young men as scholars and men of science were uniformly bad or at all events expressed deep depression. I was told by many that in general the able, intelligent, energetic young men are going either into the army or into industry and that there are very few who are taking up university careers, even in the favored physical and biological sciences, and I think this is entirely trustworthy information. The result of this and of the events of the past 25 years may be briefly sketched as follows: There was no great destruction of life during the war among university men who are now more than 55 years old, for many of them were already in positions which tended to protect them from risk. On the other hand, this group has been decimated through the treatment of the Jews and of certain others who proved either irreconcilable or unable to take care of themselves. The group between the ages of 40 and 55 is small because probably a majority of those who would have become professors were either killed in the war or in some way or other deflected from what would have been their course. Younger men have been through the evil times and have chosen a university career less often than would have been the case in a happier period. And now the supply of good young men is still dwindling.

The upshot of all this may be expressed in the form of a very rough estimate, as follows: Among the professors and dozenten of the German universities there are less than half as many able men as there were before

the war, and their work is not half as effective as it was at that time. The rest are, in general, a bad lot, stupid, incompetent and often dishonest.

I feel constrained to add that it is my impression that the German universities had been slowly declining for a quarter of a century before the outbreak of the war, and that the present situation represents the result of a long, slowly descending wave on which is superimposed the result of a quarter century of catastrophe.

One final remark about the universities: I was told over and over again that there is hardly a first-rate scientific investigator in Germany who would not gladly accept a call to America or to a moderately comfortable post in almost any other foreign country. Needless to say, I take this statement more confidently as an expression of a strong feeling of hostility to the government and of hopelessness for the future than as a prediction of what people would do.

A few remarks about Hitler may be set down. I was told that both von Blomberg and von Neurath have been much impressed by Hitler's success in educating himself about all sorts of technical or quasi-technical subjects, and that they find their dealings with him personally reasonably satisfactory. My informant added that he had come to believe that Hitler is considerably more intelligent than anyone had at first supposed. At this point I put in a question that I had formulated long before going to Germany, to this effect: "Hitler's principal task has been to rebuild in Germany a feeling of confidence, solidarity, security, national pride, etc. To me it seems that the very best raw material available in great quantity for this purpose is the great mass of the more unintelligent but devout Protestants and Catholics. Accordingly, I think that his treatment of the churches is no less than 'wahnsinnig'. What have you to say to this observation?" The reply was cordial agreement and

the statement that Hitler is certainly not intelligent enough to understand this kind of consideration, and that he is also emotionally so devoted to a few favorite ideas or prejudices that he is quite incapable of objective consideration when they are involved. These are (1) the dogma of race, (2) the hatred and fear of Bolshevism, and (3) the belief that his Nazi religion must be adopted by Germans generally. I was also told that Schacht has twice presented his resignation to Hitler and that on the second occasion Hitler said to him, "If you retire today, you will be dead tomorrow."

Another report was that two of the most distinguished men of science in Germany went to Hitler to try to persuade him to treat the Jews better and that they were dismissed with gross insults. A further story is that he has made a political testament nominating Goering as his successor in the event of his death.

It is said that Goering, who loves the flesh pots, ostentation, and magnificence, is far more friendly to the rich than Hitler and would be glad to preserve the old economic order with himself as one of the favored few. Of course, I heard a great many other things about Hitler, Goering, Goebbels and others that are common knowledge, but it is hardly worth while to go on talking about such questions because there must be hundreds of people who are better informed than I am.

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So far I have been setting down what was said of the present state of affairs. In many respects, however, trends are more significant than conditions at a moment, and I especially tried to find out what my informants thought about trends. On the whole, the opinions expressed about economic



trends seem to me valueless, but the estimates of trends of opinion, though rather bewildering, are, I think, significant. Everybody agrees that the feeling in Germany was in general very much happier a year or two ago than it was when Hitler came into power, and that most people were far better off. There was also general agreement, with hardly an exception, that people in general are less happy today than they were a year ago, and that the number of people hostile to the government has been increasing rapidly in many if not nearly all classes for more than a year.

I suppose it is pretty safe to guess that this would have happened in almost any strong and vigorous government coming into power under the circumstances that existed in Germany when Hitler began to rule, for under such circumstances no government could possibly fulfill its promises, let alone the hopes of a distracted and unhappy population. But there was, I should say, a general agreement among my informants that something far more significant than such a normal reaction has occurred. This has already been suggested in the case of the students by what I have said, and I think it is obviously true of both devout Protestants and devout Catholics. It is doubtful if the professors as a class have become very much more hostile than they were a year or two ago, because their position was probably already definitively established at an earlier date. I think there is little doubt that the wealthier peasants and the peasant proprietors generally have also become much more hostile in the past year, and my informants were very emphatic that that is also true of the small shopkeeping class and similar people. Once more I think it is fair to say that nobody knows much about the working man. On the other hand, some people say that the 'Kraft durch Freude' activities are having a considerable effect upon large numbers of people who are about



at the level where middle class and proletariat meet.

If one were to average the opinions of all my informants, opinions which on the whole are not widely divergent, I think the upshot would be that three or four years ago a considerable majority of Germans were at least somewhat favorable to the Nazi regime, and that generally the German people could have been divided into three large classes: the strong partisans of the government, the strong opponents, and the rest. Today my informants believe that there are only two large classes, the strong adherents of Hitler and the strong opponents, the adherents making hardly a third of the population, the strong opponents more than half. Of course, I have no independent means of knowing whether my informants are anywhere near right in their quantitative estimates. When one thinks of the different opinions honestly held about the outcome of a presidential election in the United States, it is clear that very little importance attaches to guesses of this kind. But I should like to say at this point that I found myself more and more convinced as I talked with more and more people that there has been for something over a year a strong trend away from Hitler.

Naturally there was a good deal of talk about what is coming. The general opinion is that the Nazis will remain in power for a long time and the only hope is an evolution within the party. But further, I was repeatedly told that decent men find it quite impossible to enter the party, not merely because of their dislike of its policies, but also because of the dishonesty, stupidity, violence and ignorance that are everywhere present. In this connection certain other remarks about Hitler are much to the point. I was told that one of Hitler's most unfortunate virtues is loyalty to his

old associates. Now, of course, the type that is qualified to make a revolution is very far from the type that is qualified to rebuild. So it has come about that he is surrounded chiefly and the party in general is made up of people who are not only inferior in intelligence and ability but who have the wrong kind of temperament and the wrong kind of ability for the work now in hand. In this way, it was said, a vicious circle has been set up. Evolution within the party toward a better and wiser policy of government is the only hope for improving conditions, and the very nature of the party makes impossible the recruitment of the kind of people who could bring about such a healthy evolution.

By this time it must be clear that my informants were generally pretty well all of one kind and that my information is one-sided. I feel this restriction on the significance of what I am putting down very keenly and have no doubt that the people with whom I talked are in no sense a fair sample of the German population. But, as I said in the beginning, they were selected not because of their political views but because of the fact that I had access to them either on business or through professional connections or through old personal associations. Therefore, I think their substantial unanimity of some importance.

There has been talk recently of the beginnings of malnutrition in Germany. One man whom I know well and trust, who is the head of a big clinic in one of the poor quarters of Berlin, told me clearly and emphatically that there are as yet no signs of malnutrition in his hospital. Personally I regard this one piece of evidence as decisive. However, I can well believe from other things that were said that Germany is very close to the line in this respect.

During my stay in Berlin I heard "Heil Hitler" as a form of greeting very rarely indeed, either on the streets or in shops, and I saw no sign of admiration of brown shirts. On the other hand, when the guard marched up and down Unter den Linden it was followed by large and enthusiastic crowds. I should think there can be no doubt that the army is immensely popular today, and, so far as my observation is of any value, the attitude of the public to the Nazis in uniform supports what my informants told me. I had the impression, although it is not clearly supported by anything that I can now remember that was said to me, that a considerable factor in all this is the old, traditional admiration of Germans generally for thoroughness and efficiency. To all appearances the army is as good as ever and however it may be with the civil servants, the ordinary run of members of the Nazi party are, I should think, pretty conspicuously lacking in these qualities. Indeed, I now remember that I was told over and over again that the Nazis are uneducated people, and in addition to the remark that people of the officer kind are ruled by people of the unteroffiziere kind, it was repeatedly said that education is in the hands of people of the volkschullehrer kind. This is equivalent to saying that ignorant, meddling, conceited busybodies are very widely in power.

I was told over and over again that nobody in Germany wants war and only once heard anything to the contrary, when in a company of five or six people a student remarked that the story was going about that so and so, an important man in the Nazi party, had said that the four year plan would have no sense if it were not a preparation for war (war e l'échéance as the French say). Nobody else agreed that this remark was to be taken seriously, but I am confident that there is a good deal of wishful thinking in the unanimous opinion of my informants, and of course they know that they are individually and collectively unable to do anything about it. In this respect I fear that my informants do protest too much, not dishonestly, indeed, but wishfully.

Perhaps it will be interesting to put down the two extreme prophecies that I heard about the future. The first represents the point of view of some of the more determined and courageous pastors of the Protestant church and is substantially as follows: "The struggle between the government and the Protestant church will continue, and bids fair to be more serious in the immediate future than it has been in the past. (This prophecy has been fulfilled already.) The government will use every means, honest and dishonest." At this point one of my informants illustrated the methods of the government by turning to a daily newspaper lying on his table and showing me the government statement issued the day before that seven or eight pastors had just been arrested. He then added that the number arrested on that previous day was not seven or eight but forty-five. "The government disposes of all the force and has nearly every other advantage. However, we have one advantage. Our aim is a single one and it will never change. The government has many changing aims. Therefore, we shall finally win, but it will probably be my grandchildren who will take part in the victory. Meanwhile there will be much persecution and suffering, but in the history of the Christian church that has often happened and we Christians have learned that the fate of the individual is nothing compared with a principle."

The second prophecy to which I have referred was given me by a German now no longer in Germany, a few days after I had left the country. In his opinion the army could overthrow the government at any moment without difficulty, or with relatively little difficulty, if a few preparations were skillfully made. Secondly, the higher officers of the army despise the Nazis in general and dislike the present regime. Thirdly, the dominant sentiment in the army that prevents immediate action is the old tradition not to mix

in politics and above all not to put the army in the position of being responsible for a coup d'etat, let alone a revolution. Accordingly, what will happen is this. The army will wait until the time shall come when in some way or other trouble arises that calls for intervention. Such trouble is not far off, perhaps a year off, perhaps 10, but not longer. Then, the army, being in duty bound to intervene, will put back into power throughout the country the old fashioned, efficient, highly educated, well trained kind of civil servants, and there will be a return to honesty and decency in national life.

It is a striking fact that nobody in Germany expressed such an opinion as this. I may perhaps comment on it to this extent. Some of the elements out of which the theory is constructed are obviously true and correspond to relatively permanent factors in Germany, but the combination, especially in the more elaborate form in which it was stated to me, is far too elaborate to satisfy me, at least.

\* \* \* \* \*

Having now set down, so far as I can remember them, the more significant things said to me while I was in Germany, I shall try to draw a few conclusions.

I am satisfied that there is a deep cleavage in Germany, and that on the whole there are relatively few people (relatively, that is to say, to the numbers in England or the United States) who are neither ardently favorable to the government nor ardently hostile. I think there can be little doubt that for a clear majority the question of where they stand politically is as important as any other question. In other words, the cleavage is real and it is significant day in and day out for most people, and constantly

in their minds. Moreover, in a measure, anyone who is on their side politically is a friend, anyone on the other side an enemy. The cleavage goes right down into families and divides them. (If I am not mistaken, one could find similar remarks about similar circumstances in Thucydides.) So far I am in agreement with my informants.

I also feel confident that the trend has been for the past year in the direction that they describe. But when the question is made quantitative I feel myself, on the one hand, quite incompetent to make a precise estimate and, on the other hand, sceptical of the statements that were made to me. I am inclined to guess, however, that there are at least half as many people definitively hostile to the government as my informants thought. In other words, I think it very safe indeed to say that more than one-quarter of the German population are strongly and definitively hostile to the present regime (in plain English they hate it) and that the number of these people is increasing. Secondly, I am bound to say that it seems to me unlikely that more than about one-third of the population are strongly favorable, for otherwise I think I should have seen more signs of support of the government. Accordingly, I suspect that the number of people who remain relatively non-partisan is greater than I was told. My reasons for this guess had better be indicated. Nearly everyone whom I saw has had the old fashioned German higher education, and among them there is a prevalent tendency to an overintellectual attitude. Moreover, Germans are at least as emotional as other people and they have been subjected to violent provocations to an emotional attitude for many years. I have the feeling that at least most of my informants are really incapable of imagining



an attitude of indifference as a normal attitude under existing circumstances, and yet it seems to me probable that there must be thousands of little people in Germany who are very much more concerned with their own everyday affairs than with considerations of national politics. Moreover, intellectuals tend to forget how many people live merely from day to day with a feeling of reasonable satisfaction when a day passes with reasonable comfort. Of course, when things get bad enough that is no longer the case, but as I have said there is no evidence of malnutrition in Berlin, and the sufferings of the Germans today are what may be described as moral and spiritual rather than physical. I should think that today the amount of physical pain in Germany as in other countries that arises from disease is a hundredfold greater than the physical suffering that may be directly or indirectly of political origin. The truth is that only one remark that I heard while I was in Germany implies a tendency to look at the phenomena with cold objectivity. This remark was made by perhaps the most distinguished of all the persons with whom I talked. It was elicited by my statement that I hoped to understand and did not wish to criticize or to form moral judgments. The reply was something like this. Perhaps after all what has been happening in Germany in the last few years is a process which, apart from its details, was inevitable and determined independently of the plans or ideas or wishes of any single group of individuals. Perhaps, in short, it is the working out of a political, social and economic process, already in many respects determined by forces that were present before Hitler came into power. Now that I have put these words down I realize that they are my own and that something less was said to me. In short, this is my interpretation of the opinion behind what was said, but I think it tolerably correct as an inter-



pretation, and it was, as I have said, the only sign of a really objective point of view that I noticed.

This remark implies another. My informants are, upon the whole, judging moralistically. Now I think there can be no doubt that many of the things done by the present government in Germany, while certainly open to condemnation on any moral grounds that I should be willing to accept, have produced and continue to produce results which are in part useful and not infrequently necessary to the well-being of the country. In cases of this kind the disapproval of intellectuals, however strong, may mean very little. In any case it should be taken with the utmost caution. If there were evidence that anybody in the present government except Schacht is capable of a really mechanistic and objective attitude toward the problems that he has to solve, I should attach very great importance indeed to this remark, and should be tempted to reject much more of what I was told than I do reject. But, as I have said, the evidence is that beyond a certain narrow range Hitler is sometimes even less capable of objectivity than his enemies the intellectuals, and I think that, on the whole, one may take it that there is very little Machiavellian planning in the present government. That is not to say, however, that there is a dearth of selfish, unscrupulous trickery.

I conclude with an opinion that is something more than a guess: In method as distinguished from purpose the great weakness of Nazi policy within Germany is the failure to utilize and to exploit systematically many of the strong sentiments that widely exist in the population rather than to attack them, and try to change them; for many cannot be changed but are activated and strengthened by persecution.

August 11, 1937

EST:11/11/11

August 26, 1937

PF

Dear Mr. President:

The situation in Europe is such that American action as to Far East tyranny in connection with England would not start Germany into her war scheme, were if Mussolini were ready. Foodstuffs and trained young soldiers make the problem. You know foodstuffs are short and must be another year. It will take two years more to have enough trained soldiers. The leading generals have opposed aggressive action since January 1936

and some of them British, for example, insist on stillers leaving the Churches alone. This religious situation<sup>is</sup> such that many people talk of a revolt if aggressive war were started. There are thus three reasons for democratic peoples to co-operate to save themselves the next two years. Therefore I would, in your position, press unsuccessfully England (the Govt.) to join us in pressure upon Japan, even to send American-British navies across the Pacific. Later German and Italy might act together if this were done - now they would not move, even if they advised Japan to annex China.

Russia is in such a critical position at home that she can't act alone to save China alone. If Russia acted alone to keep Japan off the long, rich region in north

China which they intend to seize and fortify,  
Germany and Italy would be far more  
apt to act in the Black Sea region. So, it  
seems to me that just <sup>now</sup> our Govt. England  
and France, with Holland many in Far East, can  
not co-operation of Russia and save the situa-  
tion. Certainly if this dictatorial system  
goes on two more years unchecked,  
as in Ethiopia, Spain and now China, a  
combination of democratic (near democratic)  
states may <sup>not</sup> save themselves. I am tak-  
ing this liberty to write you because  
I know we have the same ideals and  
because I have watched and studied  
things in Berlin for so many years.  
All representatives of democratic coun-  
tries in Berlin have again and  
again said: "The United States is the only  
nation that can save our civilization."

Yours Sincerely  
William E. Dodd

In haste

W. E. Dodd

PSE: (Dodd)

Sept. 15, 1937

Dear Mr. President:

One thing I failed to mention about international: if our country can not halt Japan, democracy in our world is going to be in grave danger in 1938. Our interests are at stake and English-French relations are such that nothing will be done without our positive help

Yours Sincerely

William E. Dodd

100  
Private  
Sept. 18, 1937

Dear Mr. President:

I have read with greatest <sup>interest</sup> every paragraph of your address on the constitution and the situation of our country to-day. No one could have stated the basic facts better and I hope you can repeat this address with certain additions in the Middle and Far West. Our people need to have this analysis presented to them by the President. There is no reply; because you are right as to every point made. The newspaper people and most men as

Burns and Wheeler see, purposely or under pressure, minority control like the slaveholders did in nearly all Southern states when Jefferson pressed for gradual abolition to avoid a civil war. Those minority people (and my grandfathers were slaveholders) worried themselves and came within an inch of wrecking the Union of States - such able states rights men as Lee reluctantly taking up arms for slavery. But I must not say more to so busy a man.

I am sending a newspaper report of your address to Mrs. Dodd with the request to show it to our

Service people in Berlin. They will all be interested, practically everybody on our staff there - close as well - being sympathetic with your great programme. I am speaking at Richmond, Raleigh, Chapel Hill and the University of Virginia next week-end. What I said yesterday about historic minority blindness and damages to our country at Washington and Lee held an audience of 2000 for an hour and such of a pause at the end I have only once in my life (Berlin Oct. 1933) received. The people are really interested. The Pres. ident of W. & F. was entirely with me and spoke most highly of you and your difficult work.

I plan to sail on Oct 8 from Norfolk. All good wishes. Yours Sincerely  
William E. Dodd



1957: Feb 28

100-31

October 10, 1937

Dear Mr. Secretary:

Dear Hon. Secretary:

I enclose a letter to the President which I wish you would hand to him. I hope the President can read my poor hand-writing. I need not say to you I have never had a fourth so much letter-writing in my life, as during my leave this year: ten to fifteen letters and telegrams each day; only two criticizing what I said about the Nürnberg affair, one unsigned. I have been surprised.

I am no mil-

you probably know I am no mil-  
lionsaire diplomat, so must write my  
letters by hand, except in Berlin where  
I hope not be reported to the Führer -  
Yours Truly William E. Dodd

I have been so crowded this vacation that I asked for extension of leave; and I sail ~~on~~ on the Washington October 20. Sometime about January 1, I would like to spend three or four days in London to learn (from really informed people) just what that Government intends to do. I shall of course cable you any special information. In case you have any special instructions to give me let me know, and I will drive down to the White House. All cordial regards

Yours Sincerely  
William E. Dodd

POSTAL  
J. H. P.

October 10, 1937

Dear Mr. President:

Two things I venture to mention to you:

1. Your address in Chicago was most national and appropriate in the present state of the world. It has already had great effect. Those arbitrary leaders think if the United States keeps out of things, they will in a few years dominate the whole world, also our economic relations. The present year and next are the most

promising for democracy if it is  
to survive - and our people would  
wage a terrible struggle to save their  
historic ideals, much as they have  
been abused. I am very glad you  
made your international purpose clear.

<sup>this</sup> n. Of less importance because you  
know public opinion so much  
better than I can know it. How-  
ever, I lectured frankly before six  
Virginia - Carolina University au-  
diences the last ten days of Sep-  
tember - the largest audiences I ever  
addressed. I dealt fundamentally  
with the problems now before us,  
even the modern world; and both  
professors and students (many  
visitors too) were everywhere deeply

interested and showed full agreement.  
Richmond, Virginia, insisted on 20 minutes  
radio. I agreed if they took first 20 min-  
utes. But, without any information to me,  
they kept me on radio more than an  
hour. Associated Press made careful  
report, but no newspapers carried.  
However, President Patterson and  
others have written enthusiastic en-  
couragements. Washington and Lee and the  
University of North Carolina have shown  
similar interest and enthusiasm. There  
is no doubt of your support by these  
people - though senators are opposed. I  
alluded to Bailey, not by name, and  
the Raleigh audience applauded and  
he has published an explanation which  
was sent me. I can't help believ-  
ing University people all over South  
and West are with you, even when dif-  
ferences of opinion sometimes are given.

Hoover went to Berlin and bought the Blücher palace, not a suitable place because of spy system, for \$75,000. Somewhere a corporation was organized, all names absolutely secret, and it received \$1,050,000 for the palace - even against the advice of Hoover's Ambassador. Later there was a fire. It became a dangerous structure. I and others of our staff had to pay insurance against danger. I made arrangement in 1930 for getting a new building on suitable place, without any cost to me. Messersmith approved the exchange. It would have saved me \$60,000 a year rents &c. The Department favored, but was blocked. I tried again but received no encouragement. This seems to me a disgrace. Can't you have this corrected? Yours Sincerely  
Winifred E. Dodd

1235 P. D. J. A  
UNITED STATES LINES  
On Board S.S. Oct. 26, 1937  
file  
received  
See news from Brussels this O. H. get via 2 times 5 than the opposition

Dear Mr. President:

Two things I venture to call your attention to: The German attack upon me about my not attending Nürnberg propaganda shows against democratic peoples and our Blücher palace matter.

1. All representatives of democratic countries in Berlin in August 1933 declined invitations to the Nürnberg party show: England, France, the United States and the smaller democracies. The reasons

were that we did not wish to be embarrassed. And I gave three illustrations of Washington's, Madison's and Cleveland's attitudes. They asked the recall of ministers who took part in partisan performances and their requests were promptly agreed to.

But in 1935 and 1936 the smaller democracies - Switzerland, Holland and others ordered their ministers to attend because of threats to their governments. I did not agree to go to Nürnberg, also English and French Ambassadors. <sup>agreed</sup> Leading speakers attacked democracies everywhere and classed them with communism of Russia.

This did not weaken my attitude. Then asked last July whether I would join the new British Ambassador, I answered that my country's attitude had not changed and that I could not participate in propaganda shows. I wrote my reasons, highly confidential, to Secretary Hull. Some way the letter was shown to journalists (Hull insisted that he could not see how this was done) and it was published in New York newspapers Sept. 4. The Germans at once attacked me in Berlin. I think a German spy did the thing. The Embassy in Washington made protests to Department of State. J. H. Dierckhoff understood my attitude in 1933 and von Neurath agreed entirely in 1936. I wish you would let Dierckhoff know how you feel about such <sup>when you see him</sup> performance.

2. A group of our Govt. people under

Berlin, November 23, 1937.

Dear Mr. President:

I have a letter from the University of North Carolina indicating that Ambassador Josephus Daniels is managing a big anniversary meeting at Chapel Hill, and the man in charge has asked me if I would drop you a note and say that they are very anxious to have you make an address on the occasion, which will be next May. Perhaps you have heard from them already.

This is a conference of North Carolinians greatly interested in political affairs before which I made an address last September. I have the feeling that it would be a very useful thing if you could possibly accept their invitation. Public opinion, as revealed in North Carolina at the time I was there, especially at the University and also at Raleigh, is very much more up-to-date than it used to be and very sympathetic with your efforts to readjust the affairs of our country. People showed also a great interest in international affairs. I am therefore writing you as per the request I have just received.

With all regards,

Sincerely yours,

*William E. Dodd*

The President,  
The White House,  
Washington, D. C.



PSF: Dood

Berlin, November 29, 1937.

Dear Mr. President:

You have very kindly thanked me for my book, which I am afraid you will never have time to read, though there are some conclusions in the book that ought to be worthwhile.

I might say that in the winter of 1935, a day or two after the Senate on such a minority vote rejected your recommendation of accepting the World Court at the Hague, I offered my resignation in a formal letter to Judge Moore. He and Secretary Hull discussed it and seemed not to agree with me. Perhaps they did not even mention it to you. The reason I offered my resignation then was purely domestic. The men who drafted our Constitution did not intend that a minority of Senators should always be able to defeat the majority and the President on matters of foreign policy. I cannot take your time now to give you various evidences of this - the minority definition in the Constitution was intended to apply to four great States which had a majority of the popular vote, i.e., Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, Virginia and North Carolina. We should probably have missed the Constitution if this concession to the majority had been denied. But almost from the beginning Senators have seemed to think the purpose was to allow a minority of the Senate to defeat anything in international matters that they wish.

If my resignation had been accepted I would have spoken to various audiences in the country and made the point

The President,  
The White House,  
Washington, D.C.



clear and perhaps might have rendered some service to you and to our Government, in which so many individuals seem to think they can get a few fellows together and do what they want. I had the feeling that one's duty might sometimes be even to give up an important position in order to render assistance; and when I had luncheon with the Foreign Relations Committee one day, two outstanding men who voted with the minority crowd confessed their shame; and those two votes would have made your recommendations successful.

Later on, as it proved impossible to get any treaty relations here and as one's work, strenuous as it was, almost invariably proved unsuccessful, I felt that I ought not to stay much longer and therefore offered my resignation last spring, and Judge Moore must have presented it to you. I am not so sure that diplomats are worth anything like what they cost our country. When I see how many Ambassadors we have and how little they can actually do, it seems something of a waste to continue them in service. The whole of Europe is almost immovable, the possible exception being the little countries that can not do anything, or possibly even England - and yet we have very expensive services, very expensive Ambassadors at many posts. I read Mr. Messersmith's famous report on what was wasted in Paris, and I learned that nothing was ever done. There seems to me to be a group of men in the Department who do not undertake to listen to any advice that may come to them. Nothing proves this better than the treatment of our urgent recommendations to exchange the Blücher Palais for a suitable Embassy which the Germans were ready to give, especially through the year 1936. We have lost about \$60,000 a year ever since I have been here

on this matter. The report of the last expert here states that a company was organized when the Blücher Palais was bought and that their names were all kept absolutely secret. This company bought the Palais for \$75,000 and sold it to our Government for \$1,750,000. I have not been able to learn the name of a single man in that company, and I might add that it was immediately dissolved when the contract was duly recorded. If the waste in London and Paris and this sort of extravagance does not mean anything to departmental administrators, I can hardly see how we can avoid a great waste of the common man's money. The last point I take the liberty of mentioning to you was the urgent and pressing desire of one of the richest men in the United States to be Ambassador to Berlin. From all I was able to learn from our service men who really work, the service of such a man would have been very distasteful and would have led to the requests of several people to be transferred. It had been my expectation to retire September 1, but you agreed with me to the extent of delaying the appointment which was demanded of you and by asking me if I would not return to Berlin and remain some months. Therefore, I naturally did what you wished. As my wife had to rent our house or be compelled to live at the Esplanade Hotel the rest of our residence here, there was nothing to do but make the contract again for a year. The only limitation of this was to be found in the fact that all our contracts have a three-months' notice clause. Consequently, I could retire after being here and giving three months' notice. While this has not embarrassed me as much as I thought it would, I do not like to be considered as ignoring my promises; and Mr. Panofsky, who is in grave trouble and has been for two years, is very anxious to rent his house to the next Ambassador from our country. If that cannot be done, Panofsky is in grave danger of having his \$500,000 house practically taken away from him,

especially as he is trying to migrate to some other nation. He will not only lose nine-tenths of the money he would get for the house, but he will also lose more than nine-tenths of the bank of which he has been president for a long time and which his family has managed for over 100 years. If our next Ambassador could rent the house and pay him American dollars in London, he would at least be able to support his family. I can hardly doubt that the Department would be willing to have this done if the Ambassador wished to cooperate.

When I discussed with you the appointment of Professor James T. Shotwell, I had two objectives in mind. One of them was that he understood European affairs, as revealed in his exceedingly interesting volumes, better than almost any man in our country. I thought, therefore, that his appointment would not only interest you, but that even the service men in the Department would not be able to make any serious objection. The other reason I acted upon is that Shotwell is so well and favorably known all over the United States, especially in the greater university circles, that it would be an advantage to appoint him. I had noticed how frequently he had lectured to large audiences throughout the country, and had also noticed that he approved almost everything you have endeavored to do for our democratic cause. It seemed to me, therefore, that his appointment would add very considerable influence to your regime. Nothing seems more necessary in the United States than to have our universities appreciate the real problems before us, especially in international affairs. I mention this again to you because I feel considerably disappointed. There is no other post in Europe where Shotwell could render such a good service. I have the feeling that somebody in the Department has made positive opposition to such an appointment.

I have taken a good deal of your time; but I hope you have been able to read what I have said. I certainly am grateful for the kindnesses you have shown me during my residence here, as well as on my visits to the United States. The last day that William and I spent with you was certainly a very revealing one as to your objectives in life.

Sincerely yours,

William E. Dodd

ai05

PSF: Dodd

December 14, 1937.

My dear Dodd:

Thank you for your note of November twenty-third. I hope much to be able to go to the University of North Carolina and will do so if it is at all possible when the time comes.

Yours of the twenty-ninth has just come and I don't need to tell you that I have fully understood your house rent problem, but as you also know things came to a head because of the German foreign office.

When you get back, of course, I will explain to you more fully. You are right about Shotwell and I hope much that I can send him in Europe where he will be definitely useful.

Very sincerely yours,

Honorable William E. Dodd,  
Ambassador to Germany,  
American Embassy,  
Berlin, Germany.

FDR/dj

9501

R.F.

Berlin, December 23, 1937.

Dear Mr. President:

Your most interesting letter of December 14 just received. It certainly would be, in my opinion, a great advantage if Professor Shotwell could be appointed to one of the vacancies in Europe. I thought Berlin would be the best place because of his knowledge of German and also because of his thorough acquaintance of European affairs, as revealed in his books. However, I know you have political complications and shall understand whatever you are able to do.

As to your remarks about the possible attitude of the Foreign Office here, I am a little surprised. Their objections to what was reported to have been a speech of mine September 4 was supposed to have been entirely settled about that time. Secretary Hull did not intimate to me any difficulties, especially when he realized that a confidential letter had been slipped out of the State Department and made use of in such a dishonorable way. However, comment which I hear from many people in the Service indicates great distrust of one of the higher officials in the Department. There is a general belief that he was the cause of these difficulties. Personally, I do not know anything about him; but the marvellously incorrect address which he delivered about a month ago in Washington on the subject of Latin-American countries suggests a great deal. The greatest authority we have on Latin-American affairs says there is no such thing as democracy in any of the Latin-American

The President  
The White House,  
Washington, D.C.

countries. A book of his which came out something over a year ago gives conclusive evidence. Consequently, I was surprised to see that a high official could make such an address as was reported to us here in the Paris HERALD.

I shall be arriving in Washington sometime about the eighth or ninth of January, dependent upon whether we have too many storms on the Atlantic. When I arrive in Washington I would like very much to have opportunity of talking with you about the somewhat changed European situation. You seem to me to have the overwhelming support of our people, and I hope something can be done that will tend to make an end of warfare.

My address will be the Cosmos Club during my residence in Washington.

Although it is too late, I wish to express our very best wishes for a Happy Christmas.

Sincerely yours,

*William E. Dodd*

aj03



January 22, 1938.

Dear Mr. President:

Just a note: it will cost you less time than a visit.

One thing our country ought never to do: send its representative in Berlin to those Nurnberg shows. First these meetings are the greatest propaganda performances Europe has ever pulled off. Hundreds of thousands of German soldiers and Hitler youth are paraded a week with all kinds of army performances. They try to scare Europe. The speeches by Hitler, Goebbels and Rosenberg denounce and ridicule democracies. This has been done in most offensive manner the last two years. Never before has any country tried to compel diplomats to attend such performances.

In August 1933 I looked into the matter and studied other own performances. We invite diplomats to attend conventions but never compel them to do so. Washington sent the French Minister home when he began his career by partisan and propaganda work in Charleston. Madison asked English minister's recall when he attended a purely partisan meeting in Boston (taking part himself) and Cleveland asked the resignation of the British Ambassador in 1888 because he had written a letter to a California friend asking him to vote for Cleveland. The letter was published. These facts seemed to me to show plainly that I should not attend a propaganda meeting in Nurnberg. I explained to von Neurath and he agreed entirely. Representatives of all other democratic countries took the same view and declined invitations. In 1936 coercive pressure was put on smaller governments to send their representatives; and several attended to hear democracies compared with communism in worst sense. The Minister from Holland refused to go and Hitler indirectly caused his recall -- a very able Hollander now minister in London. In 1937 pressure was applied directly by Hitler to the representatives of England, France and the United States. The

The President  
The White House.

- 2 -

The Englishman surrendered. I declined to attend but had already bought my ticket to Norfolk. You know what happened. Everybody but the Norway Minister attended. The attacks on other countries quite as bad as in 1936.

These are the facts. Hitler thinks himself powerful enough to do such things and he has actually scared France and England. Has he scared our country. From the hundreds of letters and telegrams I received last September, when attacked by the Germans, I can not avoid the conviction that our country is nine to one, or even more, against attending Nurnberg propaganda and threatening meetings. If I were in your difficult position, I would say to our Ambassador: "Do not attend".

Yours sincerely,

ak02

COSMOS CLUB  
WASHINGTON, D. C.

Jan. 22, 1938

Dear Mr. President:

Just a note: it will  
cost you less time than a visit.

One thing our country ought never  
to do: send its representative in Berlin  
to those Nürnberg shows. First these  
meetings are the greatest propaganda  
performances Europe has ever pulled  
off. Hundreds of thousands of German  
soldiers and Hitler youth are paraded  
a week with all kinds of army per-  
formances. They try to scare Europe.  
The speeches by Hitler, Goebbels and  
Rosenberg denounce and ridicule dem-  
ocracies. This has been true in most

COSMOS CLUB  
WASHINGTON, D. C.

offensive manner the last two years. Never before has any country tried to compel diplomats to attend such performances.

In August 1933 I looked into the matter and studied our own performances. We invite diplomats to attend conventions but never compel them to do so. Washington sent the French minister home when he began his career by partisan and propaganda work in Charleston. Madison asked English minister's recall when he attended a purely partisan meeting in Boston (taking part himself) and Cleveland asked the resignation of the British ambassador in 1888.

because he had written a letter to a California friend asking him to vote for Cleveland. The letter was published. These facts seemed to me to show plainly that I should not attend a propaganda meeting in Nürnberg. I explained to von Neuwirth and he agreed entirely. Representatives of all other democratic countries took the same view and declined invitations. In 1936 coercive pressure was put on smaller governments to send their representatives; and several attended to hear Democracies compared with communism in worst sense. The minister from Holland refused to go and Hitler indirectly caused his recall - a very able Hollander now minister in London. In 1937 pressure was applied directly

COSMOS CLUB  
WASHINGTON, D. C.

4

by Hitler to the representatives of England, France and the United States. The Englishman surrendered. I declined to attend but had already bought my ticket to Norfolk. You know what happened. Everybody but the Norway minister attended. The attacks on other countries quite as bad as in 193

These are the facts. Hitler thinks himself powerful enough to do such things and he has actually scared France and England. Has he scared our country. From the hundreds of letters and telegrams I received last September, when attacked <sup>by the Germans,</sup> I can not avoid the conviction that our country is 9 to 1, or even more, against attendance of Nürnberg propaganda and threatening meetings. If I were in your difficult position, I would say to our Ambassador: "Do not attend"

Yours Sincerely, H. W. C.



*held  
present*

THE SECRETARY OF STATE

WASHINGTON

January 25, 1938.

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

With reference to the enclosed letter from Dr. Dodd to you about attending the last Nürnberg conference, I think you will recall the governing circumstances. In the first place, the British, the French, and the representatives of all other nations well enough physically to be present, with the exception of Russia alone, felt constrained in the circumstances to accept an invitation of the Government, not of an unofficial political organization, and attend. I doubt if we would have gotten far in combating Nazism merely by falling back in company with the Soviet alone in this connection. It was stated on every hand that such attendance involved no political significance either pro or con.

What I am saying is not intended in mitigation of anything Dr. Dodd says about the merits of Nazism and the methods of combating it. If this visit by the representatives of all the nations some months ago has revealed abuses and disagreeable acts and utterances on

the part



the part of the German officials to the extent Dr. Dodd believes occurred, this ought to make it easily possible for Great Britain, France and all of our countries and their Foreign Offices back at home further to consider and maybe revise the position which they felt constrained to take in connection with the last Nürnberg meeting. In any event, I shall be interested in having the entire matter carefully examined.

The letter of Dr. Dodd is herewith returned.

*True*

al-02

DEPARTMENT OF STATE  
WASHINGTON

January 22, 1938.

Dear Mr. President:

Just a note: it will cost you less time than a visit.

One thing our country ought never to do: send its representative in Berlin to those Nürnberg shows. First these meetings are the greatest propaganda performances Europe has ever pulled off. Hundreds of thousands of German soldiers and Hitler youth are paraded a week with all kinds of army performances. They try to scare Europe. The speeches by Hitler, Goebbels and Rosenberg denounce and ridicule democracies. This has been done in most offensive manner the last two years. Never before has any country tried to compel diplomats to attend such performances.

In August 1933 I looked into the matter and studied our own performances. We invite diplomats to attend conventions but never compel them to do so. Washington sent the French Minister home when he began his career by partisan and propaganda work in Charleston. Madison asked English minister's recall when he attended a purely partisan meeting in Boston (taking part himself) and Cleveland asked the resignation of the British Ambassador in 1888 because he had written a letter to a California friend asking him to vote for Cleveland. The letter was published. These facts seemed to me to show plainly that I should not attend a propaganda meeting in Nürnberg. I explained to von Neurath and he agreed entirely. Representatives of all other democratic countries took the same view and declined invitations. In 1936 coercive pressure was put on smaller governments to send their representatives; and several attended to hear democracies compared with communism in worst sense. The Minister from Holland refused to go and Hitler indirectly caused his recall -- a very able Hollander now minister in London. In 1937 pressure was applied directly by Hitler to the representatives of England, France and the United States. The

The President  
The White House.

The Englishman surrendered. I declined to attend but had already bought my ticket to Norfolk. You know what happened. Everybody but the Norway Minister attended. The attacks on other countries quite as bad as in 1936.

These are the facts. Hitler thinks himself powerful enough to do such things and he has actually scared France and England. Has he scared our country? From the hundreds of letters and telegrams I received last September, when attacked by the Germans, I can not avoid the conviction that our country is nine to one, or even more, against attending Nuremberg propaganda and threatening meetings. If I were in your difficult position, I would say to our ambassador: "Do not attend".

Yours sincerely,

William C. Dodd

x Only one opposing;  
and of the hundreds  
received since Jan. 8,  
only two

aL04

January 9, 1936

Dear Mr. President:

You have the greatest and most difficult task of any leader in the world. What the Supreme Court said yesterday reveals the same spirit which John Marshall applied in the Virginia Convention of 1829, He did to begin gradual abolition: as no

State or Congress has the right to limit  
or regulate the claims of property holders.  
Marshall was more responsible for  
the Civil War than any other man;  
yet judges think him the most  
perfect of all their predecessors.

Your address last Friday showed your  
full appreciation of the opposition shaping  
against you. If you could ~~not~~ win  
with as big a vote as 1932, it  
would be real recovery; if not I  
am uneasy as to our future. If you  
and the State Department could manage  
some way to hold England and France  
up to their duty in the League, great results  
would come here - also benefits at home.

Yours William F. Dodd

Our Military Attache sent  
a cable sometime ago stating  
ing a great aircraft com-  
pany of ours make a bar-  
gain with a company here  
whereby 100 war planes were  
to be half made in U.S. fin-  
ished here and sent to Italy!

ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF STATE  
WASHINGTON

February 21, 1936.

Dear Miss LeHand:

I think the President may like to read the enclosed letter from Dr. Dodd. Dr. Dodd understands that I am at liberty to show his confidential letters to the President and Secretary Hull.

I have refrained from trying to take any of the President's time, but there are one or two matters I will endeavor to talk over with him on his return here.

You can say to the President that two of the people selected by him for appointment to the conciliation commissions, Judge Lumpkin and Mr. Branch, have accepted, and two, Mrs. Harriman and Mr. Carvan, have declined. This is such a relatively unimportant matter that there is no reason for it being further dealt with at the moment.

Yours very sincerely,

Enclosure:  
Letter from  
Dr. Dodd dated  
Feb. 10th.



Miss Marguerite A. LeHand,  
Personal Secretary to the President,  
The White House.



March 4, 1838.

Dear Judge Moore:-

The President asks me  
to tell you that he has been delighted  
to read the enclosed, which I am return-  
ing to you.

My best wishes to you,

Always sincerely,

M. A. Le Hand  
PRIVATE SECRETARY

Honorable R. Walton Moore,  
Assistant Secretary of State,  
Washington, D. C.

(Enclosure)

PSF: [104]

Private

March 18, 1933.

My dear Dodd:-

I think the idea of exchanging the burned out palaces for something more business-like and less ostentatious would be a good thing and I have so informed the Secretary and Phillips and Harbo. If we could take the exchange on the basis of actual point values and really get a place where everything would be concentrated in a reasonable location, there would be no difficulty in obtaining the necessary legislation.

Since you wrote on March third everything seems to have broken loose again in your part of the world. All the experts here, there and the other place say "there will be no war." They said the same thing all through July, 1914, when I was in the Navy Department. In those days I believed the experts. Today I have my doubts in my check. This does not mean that I am become cynical; but as President I have to be ready just like a Fire Department!

If in the days to come the absolutely unpredictable events should by chance get to the point where a rupture, an offer or a formal statement by me would, in your judgment, take for Europe, we have to send the message word. But the message must be not only word with justice but the kind of word which will ensure without threat for more than a week or two.

As ever yours,

Honorable William E. Dodd,  
American Embassy,  
Berlin.

*You see how poor  
I feel*

March 3, 1936.

Dear Mr. President:

It seems to me the location of all offices of the Service here would be most advantageous; and to that end an enormous palace was bought some years ago. But this building is now in such condition that it would cost over a million dollars to put it in order; and the consequences of building of a subway under one corner of it are such that I have urged upon the Department the exchange of the palace for another place. If this could be approved this spring, I think we could get a far better bargain than we could hope for later. In case you can give the matter a moment's consideration, I wish you might see Mr. Phillips who was here January 1 and looked into the matter carefully. Carr and Merrill of the Department are still using every influence they have to get more than a million dollars added to the million seven hundred thousand already invested; their attitudes are personal I fear, rather than national.

How many mistakes our greater nations have made since 1920! We refused to give the League of Nations a trial, though we might have withdrawn in case we became convinced membership meant nothing. Then we put through two tariff laws which made the payment of debts impossible, nearly everybody talking about paying in gold! Those two acts did more to set up the barriers to commerce than anything else, and reduced our standard of living sadly. Then France insisted upon armaments to the limit and caused Hitler to be able to seize control of the German nation. And England refused to support us when we tried to stop Japan's imperialism in China! Last November-December Hoare and Laval defeated the first real League movement to stop war at a moment when two-thirds of the German people were hoping to see Mussolini stopped because it would mean later a stoppage here. That was a blunder which now leads to the necessity of alliances; and alliances are only repetitions of 1879 to 1914. I hardly know which people have acted more stupidly; and all this armament business now reaching five billion dollars cost a year - all nations bankrupt!

I had long talk last Saturday with Secretary von Neurath, 29th of February, revealed his great anxiety, though he insisted Hitler is really getting uneasy and listens more to the Foreign Office. He agreed as to the terrible blunder of last November and added that the hope of Europe now depends on a restoration of the League and Germany's joining. Then he added, "but your country is forming a League which will have the effect of making our League European and then of creating an Asiatic League: certain war?" Well I could say "No" with some doubt.

*Yours Sincerely  
William E. Dodd*

*file  
personal*

Berlin, April 1, 1936.

Dear Mr. President:

At this critical moment, I venture a summary of conditions and blunders which have brought the more democratic peoples of Europe into their present dangerous status, perhaps repeating some things I have written before.

I cabled from Basle late in August the anxieties of different nations about Mussolini's expected break into Ethiopia. From that date to December 10, I watched popular and official attitudes here. There was no question in my mind that two-thirds of the German people hoped and prayed for prompt application of sanctions, including oil, upon Italy. Germans of semi-official, University, religious and royalist relations were unanimous in their hope that one dictatorship would be broken down, especially through the cooperation of the United States. If that happened, these people thought their own miserable position would be improved, even corrected. If I were to give the names of the people who showed great concern and talked freely, you could hardly doubt my conclusions. From September till the Hoare-Laval blunder even the triumvirate criticized the Duce; they would be neutral and not help him kill Ethiopians.

But as soon as the Hoare-Laval announcement was made, clever leaders like Goebbels began to speak in favor of Italian "colonial needs." Then the remilitarization of the Rhineland zone was talked seriously, but always under cover. About January 1, there was a conference of the generals of the army. They voted unanimously against sending troops into the Rhine zone and also against lending any aid to Nazis who might

The President  
The White House,  
Washington, D.C.

break into Austria. Conferences and discussions were held frequently between January 1 and March 7. On the 6th of March all opposition ceased; the Führer was in close relations with Mussolini; and the Foreign Office was ready to approve drastic action and criticism of France and Russia. I sent a telegram on February 29 giving positive avowal of Secretary von Neurath's opposition to doing or proposing what was proclaimed on March 7, but on that date he shouted approval. What was the cause of this?

The French had promised their support to Mussolini in January 1936 in case he annexed Ethiopia. This was a violation of the League's solemn agreement. When England became aware of Mussolini's purpose to control the Nile and annex Egypt itself, she called upon France and the League. France defeated England and gave Hitler the best opportunity he had had, since he came to power, to take the lead in European affairs. Before December 15 Mussolini was in grave danger of being overthrown, and influential groups in Italy were working toward that end, even the Pope was lending aid and the King of Italy hopeful of a restoration of the throne he had lost. Frenchmen here and in Paris seemed to have no real understanding of their own blunders. I had a long talk with the French Ambassador on December 12. He could not foresee consequences.

As to the Franco-Soviet pact, nobody here considered it serious before January 1. Von Neurath said to me February 29 it was only a defense agreement and that the Russians had no idea of making war beyond their western boundaries. Even Dr. Schacht, most influential man here after Hitler, said there was no danger in that direction. But Hitler-Goebbels were ready March 1 to use Franco-Soviet pact for propaganda; they were approving Mussolini's right to annex Ethiopia and putting forward Germany's right to having her colonies restored; and making ready secretly to send troops into the Rhine zone. It was the best chance imaginable. Hitler even quoted Woodrow Wilson more than once. How could

France reply to these charges, having violated the League agreement in January 1933? If she approved the Italian seizure of territory, how could she complain if Germany re-seized her historic Rhine country?

Illogical as it was, the French Ambassador here and his superiors in Paris showed great excitement March 7 to 29, called off invitations to parties and talked of sending their army into the German Rhine area. Then France then turned to England just as England had turned to her in December preceding, she was terribly angry to learn that England would treat Germany just as France had treated Italy. There had been a slight danger of war in the Mediterranean in December, for a week or two; there was greater danger of war on the Rhine in March. The outcome, as we all know, was German success. Nothing else could have been expected.

In conclusion, the French nation is now on a definite decline toward the position of Spain, her population at a standstill. Although she has her peace pact with Russia, it means little. The Balkan states could hardly be assisted from either direction if Hitler's Rhine peace idea be applied - these states disposed now to line up with Germany or Italy. The English nation, having failed to cooperate with the United States in 1931 and failed in December to balk Mussolini, is beginning a similar decline, her population at a standstill and her relations with her colonies weakening. Will she parallel the history of the Netherlands after 1713?

But Germany's dictatorship is now stronger than ever. If she keeps the pace three more years, she can beat the whole of Europe in a war. No man, no newspaper here is permitted to talk pacifism, except Hitler. Protestants and Catholics, regardless of many imprisonments, all shout and vote hurrah for their second "Jesus Christ" and the population is increasing as no other in western Europe. The 67,000,000 is expected to be 80,000,000 when Austria is annexed. With universal service, both in aircraft and on land, and with a solid front never before enjoyed here or

(including part of  
Czechoslovakia)



elsewhere, Europe can hardly escape domination: Italy taking control of the Mediterranean and Germany the Balkan zone. It looks as if our blunders 1920-1925 and English and French blunders 1920-25 and 1931-35 have given us a new and dangerous world situation: Germany dominating Europe, Japan dominating the Far East and the United States dominating both Americas.

If Woodrow Wilson's bones do not turn in the Cathedral grave, then bones never turn in graves. Possibly you can do something, but from reports of Congressmen's attitudes, I have grave doubts. So many men, including my friend Beard, think absolute isolation a coming paradise.

Sincerely yours,

*William F. Dodd*



Hyde Park, N. Y.,  
August 5, 1938.

My dear Dodd:-

Many thanks for your note. I am sorry, indeed, that I have not had the chance of seeing you again before you sail.

The election this year has, in a sense, a German parallel. If the Republicans should win or make enormous gains, it would prove that an 85% control of the Press and a very definite campaign of misinformation can be effective here just as it was in the early days of the Hitler rise to power. Democracy is verily on trial. I am inclined to say something a little later on about the great need for freedom of the press in this country, i.e., freedom to confine itself to actual facts in its news columns and freedom to express editorially any old opinion it wants to.

Drop me a line soon after your return. I should like to have your slant, in the utmost confidence, as to what would happen if Hitler were personally and secretly asked by me to outline the limit of German foreign objectives during, let us say a ten year period, and to state whether or not he would have any sympathy with a general limitation of armaments' proposal. You cannot, of course, ask any questions regarding this in such a way as to let any inference be drawn that we were even thinking of such a thing. I should merely like to get your own opinion

on the probability of his attitude under certain conditions.

My warm regards,

As ever yours,

Honorable William E. Dodd,  
American Embassy,  
Berlin,  
Germany.

COSMOS CLUB  
WASHINGTON, D. C.

July 28, 1936

Dear Mr. President:

I am leaving tomorrow on the Washington which arrives in Hamburg August 6. Allow me to thank you and the State Department for allowing me to use my accumulated vacation. It has been worth a great deal to me -

The month at the University of Chicago revealed what seemed to me overwhelming support of you and your <sup>work</sup> on the part of Faculty people and graduate (teachers) students from all parts of the country. Vice President of the First National Bank said to me he would vote against you, but was sure the people would re-elect you. The President of the Chamber of Commerce, before whose members I spoke frankly July 8, said the same thing. Both were puzzled when I said: "you know England has not had a

COSMOS CLUB  
WASHINGTON, D. C.

bank failure since 1870, and Canada has passed through the great depression without a single bank failure. Why have our bankers operated so as to have failures ever since 1870 and ten thousand failures during the depression? Why should they not expect governmental regulation to stop such disasters to millions of people?"

From what I heard in Chicago, you are to carry that ill-governed city in spite of all the newspaper conduct. I believe you will carry Chicago Illinois too. That would be a great advantage. Every press man I saw, but one, lauded press attitudes and said they would vote for you in spite of all opposition on the part of their bosses. They tried to get the best parts of my addresses printed, but their reports were all misprinted so as to avoid having my judgments on existing situation put before the people.

This is too much for you to read, I fear.  
Yours sincerely  
William E. Dodd

*Typed by my  
daughter - strictly  
confidential*

*File*

Berlin, August 19th, 1936

Dear Mr. President:

Your re-election on a safe margin is about the most important thing in the world and this is recognized here. Democracy everywhere may fail if it fails with us. So you must know how much concerned I am. Today the Minister of the Netherlands revealed to me the great interest of his people in your continued success. He said that information had come to him the last few days that the German Party leaders had captivated our former Ambassador Schurman, who has been in Berlin nearly a month; and he added: Schurman is being used to stimulate Republican opposition among Germans in America with the expectation of his being returned here as Ambassador. Judge Moore can give you the details in case it is worth while.

My hope is that your second term may enable you to solve the unemployment problem perhaps by leaving it to states, cities and counties, the Federal Government supervising and granting a certain proportion

of needed money. The greatest problem is to save our country from erosion, dust storms and floods. This can be done but it will require a real free press which will give our people information as to blunders of the past and the necessity of scientific management. If these things are not done the next generation is apt to have one third of the country a desert. You have certainly awakened people to the cause of troubles.

But a free press and genuine education are necessary. I think your re-election on a large margin might enable you to start press reform, perhaps enable you to help start real newspapers at strategic points. Many able young journalists are ready to set up papers of their own if they could have a fair chance. With this I think we ought to have a Department of Education in Washington whose chief would reform gradually state institutions, and see to it that real teachers of the truth about our past be employed in high schools and feel themselves actually free. You know how many states, even the District of Columbia,

have been trying to deny freedom to teachers. It would be a difficult thing, but a genuine national leadership in this realm and direction would have constructive and conspicuous influence in a decade.

As to the second paragraph of your letter I may say that animosity here is such that one may not easily get a quiet answer to such an inquiry as you suggest. I had a talk with Dr. Schecht on the 18th. A hint of the subject mentioned brought a repetition of the present German demand for expansion and colonies. The telegram which I sent on that day was probably handed to you. There is a chance of such a ten year pact in the case of French and British ability to prevent Spain from becoming a dependency of Italy. Schacht did suggest that you call a world conference next winter (I never intimated of course your inquiry). His idea was, however, not so much for peace as to enable him to save Germany from economic disaster. He insisted, though, on your demanding return of German colonies. When I said that was England's business, he said : Oh, England



is losing her position and power every day. During the next few weeks I shall watch every opportunity to make an opening in the direction you mention.

With best wishes, sincerely yours,

William E. Dodd

PSF: Germany: Dodd

ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF STATE  
WASHINGTON

August 21, 1936.

*He  
Dodd  
Went*

Dear Mr. President:

I would not send you the enclosures except for Dr. Dodd's evident desire to have you know about his predecessor's performance in Germany.

The Department hears only praise of the work done by our officials in Spain in taking care of American citizens and property, and I do not believe there will be any dispraise of the note to the Minister of Uruguay, which was the result of a great deal of careful consideration.

I hope you are enjoying more comfortable weather at Hyde Park than now prevails in Washington, where it is wretchedly hot.

Yours very sincerely,

Enclosures:  
From Ambassador  
Dodd.

*Ronald R. Snow*

The President,

Hyde Park, New York.

1300h01

Aug. 13. 1936

Dear Judge:

I enclose copy of our daily press summary marking one item which might interest Secretary Hull, was the President. The former Ambassador was here a month last autumn. We showed him every country as we have done this time.

But he was too free last fall in trying to "get in with" high party officials and propagandists, i.e. for a former Ambassador. This time he is here as a guest of the Partei-government, has a house, a huge car and a chauffeur at public expense. He is cultivated by Hitler and

other members of the triumvirate every day  
and he makes speeches which seem to "cor-  
rect" careful and non-partisan attitudes  
of our Embassy and Consulate. And  
last night he was a guest of Hitler  
at a dinner (Hitler has never given such a  
dinner before) to which English, <sup>Italian</sup> and Balkan  
State diplomats were invited. French  
and other ambassadors not invited. The  
French Ambassador told me yesterday. All  
were not, though we were known to be  
entertaining other people (German and American).  
It is considered as a scheme to unite Ger-  
many, Italy and certain Balkan States.  
Why should our Ambassador here, 1924-30,  
be making speeches and playing such a  
role? I refer to Schramm. It may lead  
to embarrassments. Yours sincerely  
William E. Dodd

AUGUST 13, 1936.

No DD-PK yestersay and today.

OLYMPIC GAMES still front page, with America and Germany 19 Gold Medals each. Germany leads, however, in Silver and Bronze medals. American women ~~won~~ won all three medals in diving so VOLKISCHER BEOACHTER devoted only half the text of the front page to Olympics, ~~featuring Women's Gymnastic where Gold Medal went to Germany. The~~ featuring Women's Gymnastic where Gold Medal went to Germany. The other half of the front page devoted to foreign politics, headline:

"FREE ENTRY FOR TRAVEL TO AUSTRIA - AUSTRO-GERMAN NEGOTIATIONS CONCLUDED." Other measures drafted are for increasing mutual exchange of commodities, to be signed and put into effect after being approved by both Governments.

Other foreign news has to do mostly with SPAIN either directly or indirectly and is in the well-known anti-Soviet, anti-Front-Populaire spirit. French Chief of Staff Gamelin visits Warsaw and VB tries to minimize political importance of the event, saying that while his welcome in Poland was hearty it was meant more for "Latin Culture" than for Front Populaire.

RIBBENTROP - in absence of DD-PK comment, German press restricts itself to reproducing biographic data and English and French comment on his appointment to London. The English comment reproduced here is all favorable. The French comment reproduced amounts to saying that the appointment of Ribbentrop indicates importance attached by Germany to Anglo-German relations and preparation for forthcoming Locarno Conference.

SHURMANN - according to PRESSEBERICHT, our former Ambassador, in an interview with N.S.KORRESPONDENZ, said "Only a Germany with equal rights, and sovereign, can arrive at agreement with the two great European states which fought and struggled in particularly close union against the Reich".

SCHWARZE KORPS requests foreign Olympia guests in Germany to open wide their eyes and to see not only official personages but the man on the street and polemizes against an article in the BASLER NATIONALZEITUNG which stated that in Germany not joy stood in the center of life but fear - fear of spies, agents provocateurs, fear of loss of job, fear of imprisonment, etc. (How does the average German, who may be suffering from at least one of these anxieties, feel when he reads his SCHWARZE KORPS - or does he?)

HCF

PSE: Tudd

Typed by my daughter  
so entirely confidential

Berlin, August 31st, 1936

Dear Judge Moore:

If you think it worth while you might show this letter  
to the President. It is my summary of things as they appear  
to me in Europe.

The German people seem to be now 60% behind the  
Führer; but they are 75% desperately afraid of a European  
war. Dr. Schacht insists before the dictators that war  
would ruin all countries involved; but he is overruled and  
compelled to meet expenses of unprecedented armament. In  
order to do this he was trying in Paris last week to find a  
way to buy cotton, copper and other war materials. The  
French Ambassador here acknowledged this to me August 29th.  
The idea is to get American exports to France and then have  
the needed materials re-exported to German manufacturers.  
This was done by American airplane companies for Italy through  
Germany last autumn, as you know.

The Führer is so set in his course against Russia that  
he will not participate in any world conference if the French-  
Russian treaty is not renounced by France. This I think was  
also urged by Schacht in Paris. German officials say frankly

that there can be no conference if Russians have anything to do with it. Schacht called upon the Russians through the Press yesterday as he returned to stop all propaganda--the very same day Goebbels was in Venice conferring with the Italian Propaganda Minister; and we know the Nazis have maintained highly expensive propaganda agents and groups in Spain for two years. The Propaganda chief for dissemination of "enlightenment" to other countries now has more than 500 clerks in his Berlin office.

The German journalists have not mentioned the world-wide newspaper story that President Roosevelt had asked for a conference of world leaders for peace. A Foreign Office official laughed when one of our staff people asked him discreetly if the Germans had heard of the matter. How could the Führer leave his country with a thousand armed guardmen? There is no prospect of a peace agreement except upon the basis of a solid Fascist-Nazi European front. The French Ambassador, himself half-Fascist, a shareholder in the largest iron-ore mines in Lorraine and a member of the Comite de Forges, and very uneasy, said yesterday: If the Schacht negotiations fail war is almost certain to come next year. I think from the tone of the

1300102



conversation, Schecht is trying to persuade the French to go Fascist in order to avoid war; and a special leader of Fascist Poland is now working for the same thing in Paris. That would mean Spanish surrender and British helplessness. Such a drift I have felt and sadly prophesied since the autumn of 1934.

A very able and prominent American, talking with Mussolini two weeks ago reported to me: "Mussolini said 'no use for you to go to Vienna, nothing is decided there; I and Hitler tell them what to do; you might stop in Prague, but Berlin is the only other place for you to visit'". A Vienna correspondent of long residence told me yesterday that our Ministry there is of no more use at all; Austria is not annexed but both Nazi and Catholic elements have surrendered with Schuschnigg. Even Messersmith admitted personally to him that nothing could be done in Vienna. And we learn that Schuschnigg was with Hitler a week ago and Mussolini expected to be with him soon. Hungary is in about the same position as Austria, in addition, strong anti-Semitic feeling and territorial claims which have been used by Nazi propaganda; Roumania's present change of chief official is due to urgent pressure to make a

co-operative treaty with Germany; and I expect the Minister of Czechoslovakia, now in Prague, to report a proposed treaty with, if not surrender to, Germany when he returns. It would not be called that to be sure. As you probably know Mussolini started Franco on his revolt against the Spanish Government July 18th and sent much assistance. Germany supported the same policy and sent many airplanes to Revolutionists up to last week. The neutrality promises were made when these powers felt certain of Fascist dictatorship in Spain.

Europe is, therefore, fast moving in the direction I have feared a long time. France, I am told by Government official from Paris, may get rid of Blum in December, if he does not devaluate, or if his devaluation brings charges of betrayal of promises from the French people. Will there follow a dictatorship? Doriot, paid by Fascists in France and by industrialists, with great appeal to the working classes, is now the most prominent opposition. England's armament goes on at a terrific rate, but there is no real safety without co-operation with the United States; and that can not be arranged. Moreover, there is increasing activity from London, as in Berlin, against the re-election of President Roosevelt. A competent American journalist told me last week that Lord Beaver-

brook and a large number of London investors in United States securities, especially utilities, were very active in New York in fighting the Administration. There is a "deal" between the Beaverbrook and Hearst Press associations for the same purpose. This supports the accounts I gave you a week ago about what is being done here by Propegnas people. They have been urging Kermit Roosevelt, thought to be against his distant cousin, to attend the grand Partei Tag show in Nurnberg, September 3-15. Kermit is reported to be in Switzerland where Schurzen is supposed to be. A correspondent of the United Press was in London a little while ago. He wrote an account to America of what came to him about London business men against Roosevelt. His chief over there telegraphed him refusal to print and a rebuke for telling the story, especially as he had said the British government was opposed to such conduct. Hearst as you know is now in Italy with Mussolini to whom he secured great loans, McAdoo helping, from California a few years ago. All of these activities, among many others already given public attention, point to the possibility of Fascism in our country. We have not yet ascertained whether London and New York have made recent loans to Rome, as reported two weeks ago.

Our country has certainly permitted "interests"

to abuse our system; and we have Tammany Hall in New York and a worse thing in Chicago. If you have time to read chapters XVII and XVIII of my Wilson book you will see why many high officials in Europe criticize us. But the democratic spirit is as real with us now as at any time since 1865. If Roosevelt is defeated it would be a serious set-back which would greatly affect the countries of Europe where democracy is already being abandoned altogether. If we yield in part how much worse our system would be- and over here the historic democracies of Switzerland, Holland and Sweden are almost trembling with fear.

I have been a little surprised at the failure of the Balkan Ministers here since my return. They all formerly talked freely and hoped to see a loose union of their little countries, settling their boundary disputes among themselves. Now they are silent or show such a fear of Germany that they must give up outside relationships- everything depends on the Führer.

More interesting to the President, perhaps, is the fact that Latin- American Ministers here: Brazil, Argentine, Chili, Columbia and Nicaragua are frankly Fascist, although they speak highly of the present United States policy toward them. They all seem to wish Europe

to go Nazi or Fascist; all attend the Partei Tag propaganda event which the representatives of the democratic countries decline to attend. Perhaps this may interest Secretary Hull too.

In conclusion I ought to say that our service people, diplomatic and consular, have indicated their Fascist favor toward German-Italian domination of Spain; they have even indicated their opposition to their President. This is not saying they ought to favor Communism. It is only saying that they have in the last six months swung back into the ranks of privileged capitalists. This adds troublesome elements to my work here for we must have absolutely non-partisan reports and telegrams. Is the western world going to give up the human system of Locke, Adam Smith and Jefferson who labored so hard to secure it? The present campaign is, I fear, the most important we have had since the Civil War, and there will be millions of dollars spent to defeat Roosevelt. If he could only manage to hold his majority of 1932!

With sincere personal regards,

William E. Dodd

The police of  
Berlin are being  
drilled same  
as other soldiers,  
also S.S. and S.A.  
men, about three  
million

W. D. Dodd

Sept. 21, 1936

Dear Mr. President:

In spite of the newspaper  
misrepresentations of what you hoped might  
be done for world peace, I indirectly raised  
the question with the most sympathetic  
representative of the Government in the  
Foreign Office here - sympathetic as to  
possible peace movements. He said  
Germany would participate in any confer-  
ence in which the United States played  
a rôle. He even said Hitler would  
agree to abandon air attacks in  
next war, if it came, provided other great

nations did the same. You know Hitler frequently declares himself against war. But the Secretary did not think Hitler would attend any conference outside of Germany. He did think he would yield to presence of Russian delegates in case the United States participated.

However, there are grave doubts. My reason for entertaining them will be found in the copy of a memorandum I am sending Secretary Hull in to-day's pouch. I am also enclosing a clipping or two from this morning's German papers. One of them is headed The Greatest Army Manoeuvre Since 1914 which seems to me a half-



acknowledgment here of Germany's be-  
ginning the Great War. If this were the  
first thing of the sort I would not in-  
clude it. Since March 1935 representa-  
tives of all countries have been urged  
to attend meetings of the Partei where  
great military performances were made  
the major affairs. I was in Meiningen ten  
days ago and the hotel manager told  
us of the great aircraft attacks and  
bombers scheduled a week later. The en-  
closed clipping shows in some respects what  
was done.

Nothing is clearer here than the general Ger-  
man belief that the Balkan zone must  
be subordinated to Hitler. Former Foreign  
Office people, who really meant to be  
co-operative in peace movements, are no  
longer in their positions; or, if so, they have  
changed their attitudes like von Neurath who

is now maneuvering in that area to extend German power over Austria, Czechoslovakia, Hungary and Rumania. Goebbels in Venice two weeks ago is now in Greece and Göring is head of the greatest war aircraft in the world.

Not without interest has been the assistance of our great corporations: Du Ponts, Standard Oil, U.S. Steel and others, even though they can not take earnings out of the country. Many war flying machines have been sold to Göring's organization through Krumphs. Our Military attaché sent a cable last December showing that people in Ohio, who had agreed not to send 100 aircraft to Italy, had sent a hundred or more to Mussolini through Krumphs - an allied company here. You see, therefore, some of the reasons for my doubts. Hope I am wrong.

Yours sincerely  
William E. Dodd

*File  
Dodd*

*Ref: Dodd*

ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF STATE  
WASHINGTON

September 29, 1936.

Dear Mr. President:

I am handing you a letter that has just come in from Dr. Dodd.

I do not believe that there is anything to be gained by making a further effort to obtain a statement from Carter Glass. He has not only failed to reply to my letter to him of September 2nd, but privately I hear that he is grouchy about Eullitt, his hatred of whom is said to have influenced him to make his wretched Hanover speech. He is also reported to have said he intends to answer my letter only when he "gets good and ready". I feel pretty sure, as I have told you before, that mentally he is an old age victim.

Although everybody seems to think Virginia politically is beyond any doubt, I have been urged to broadcast a campaign speech from Richmond and will probably do so early next month. I am so tied up here as to have little opportunity to know anything beyond what appears in the newspapers and what is told me by all sorts of people who drop in to discuss one thing and another, but in some way I sense the fact that Landon has weakened himself by his recent speeches and that your reelection is becoming all the time more certain. This, I believe, will become steadily more apparent as you carry on your own work in the campaign which is really being started only tonight.

Yours very sincerely,

Enclosure:  
Letter from  
Dr. Dodd.

*Roosevelt*

The President  
The White House.

PSF: Dodd

November 9, 1936.

My dear Dodd:-

I like your "long story" even though it is not an optimistic one.

I am off in a week to, I hope, Buenos Aires. That visit will have little practical or immediate effect in Europe but at least the forces of example will help if the knowledge of it can be spread down to the masses of the people in Germany and Italy.

Incidentally, I think the results last Tuesday may have made the German and Italian populace a little envious of democratic methods.

I hope to see your daughter before I leave.

As ever yours,

Honorable William E. Dodd,  
American Embassy,  
Berlin,  
Germany.

Oct. 19, 1936

Dear Mr. President:

Perhaps you can see my daughter, Martha, a moment while she is in Washington. She is kindly taking a confidential letter to you which she will mail to Judge Moore as soon as she arrives on the Manhattan in New York. I congratulate you and the country on your most decisive decision.

Yours sincerely  
William E. Dodd

# Des Montag melden

x Gs Karte als Führung



## Dr. Goebbels reist nach Griechenland

Reichspropagandaminister Dr. Goebbels verließ am Sonntagvormittag in Tempelhof zu einer zehntägigen Studienreise nach Griechenland. Dr. Goebbels und seine Gattin verabschiedeten sich vom griechischen Gesandten Rizo-Kangabé.

Den Montag Sept. 21. 1936

Truppenteile mehrerer Armeekorps beteiligt

## Größtes Manöver seit 1914

Einzigartige Herbstübungen im Beisein des Reichsriegsministers

Drahtmeldung unseres Sonderberichterstatters

Bad Nauheim, 20. September. Am Montag beginnen im Raume Hirschfeld — Meiningen — Weiden — Trebnitz — Stadthaus — unter der Leitung des Oberbefehlshabers der Gruppe 2, Generals der Artillerie Ritter v. Seeb, die größten Herbstübungen des Gruppenkommandos 2. Diese Herbstübungen sind insofern einzigartig zu nennen, als sie die größten und umfangreichsten deutschen Manöver der Kriegszeit überhaupt darstellen werden, an denen die Truppenteile mehrerer Armeekorps, und zwar mit allen Waffengattungen, beteiligt sind.

Es wird außerdem die erste Übung in größtem Rahmen sein, an der See- und Luftwaffe teilnehmen. Über ganzen Ort und Anlage wird also die große Herbstübung 1936 mit den Kaisermanövern der Weimarer Zeit verglichen sein. Gleichzeitig stellt sie die beteiligten Truppen aber auch den Abschluß des ersten Jahres der allgemeinen Wehrpflicht dar und wird — darüber ist sich das Oberkommando des Heeres auch klar — als Manöver in einem großen Vorstadium und nach einer so kurzen Ausbildungszeit außerordentlich hohe Anforderungen an Führung und Truppe stellen. Aber der gute Wille und der Geist der Truppe werden mit allen Schwierigkeiten fertig werden. Die Erfahrungen, die bereits bei anderen Manövern dieses Jahres gemacht wurden, bestätigen bereits, daß das neue Heer mit dem Ausbildungsergebnis voll und ganz zurecht kommen kann. Außerdem steht, was es auf den Willen zum Vortreten von Leistungen ankommt.

Es wird sich auch um das erste größere Manöver seit dem Kriege handeln, in dem feuer- und Luftwaffen und Flieger benutzt werden, die Panzermotoren und Geschütze darstellen sollen. Auch die Volksgrenze, die in den vergangenen Jahren

bei militärischen Übungen die Grenzen darstellten, werden nun nicht mehr in Geheimhaltung treten. Panzerwaffe und Luftwaffe sind an den Herbstübungen voll beteiligt.

Die teilnehmenden Truppen sind bereits seit dem 18. und 19. September in ihre Ausgangsstellungen konzentriert worden, oder haben sie im Fußmarsch erreicht. Der Sonntag war überall im großen Weidertal ein Ruhetag, denn eine große Anzahl der Truppenteile hat bereits die Konzentration hinter sich. Es handelt sich in erster Linie um das V. Armeekorps unter Leitung des Generals der Infanterie Geyer, und um das IX. Armeekorps, dessen Führer General der Artillerie Dollmann ist.

Überall in den Quartieren wurden die Truppen mit größter Freude und Begeisterung aufgenommen. Die Einwohner der Stadt hatten die besten Unterkünfte neben bereitwillig alle Schwierigkeiten auf sich, die eine so zahlreiche Einquartierung mit sich bringt. Es ist ja seit langer Zeit wieder das erste Mal, daß die deutsche Soldaten bei sich die willkommenen Gäste beherbergen können.

An den Manövern nehmen teil: Der Reichsriegsminister und Oberbefehlshaber der Wehrmacht Generaloberst von Blomberg und die Oberbefehlshaber der drei Wehrmachtsteile, mehrere Reichsminister und Reichsstatthalter, zahlreiche Vertreter staatlicher und parteipolitischen Dienststellen und Behörden, viele ehemalige Offiziere der alten Armee und des Reichsheeres, darunter Generaloberst v. Seeb, der Chef des Infanterieregiments 67, ferner der Statthalter der SA Ruge, der Reichsführer der SS Himmler, der Kommandant des SA-Regiments Hühnerlein, der Reichsstatthalter Hertz, der General der Polizei Daluge und der Leiter des Hauptamtes für Kriegspersonalangelegenheiten Oberländer. Außerdem ist eine große Anzahl von Militärattachés der fremden Nationen zu den Manövern eingeladen.



Berlin, October 19, 1936.

Personal

Dear Mr. President:

I congratulate you on what I think will be your second great popular majority. You have therefore another four years, and I fear your problems are going to be as difficult as those of Woodrow Wilson in 1917.

I

According to your request of early August, I have had three talks with officials here who see the Fuehrer often and who seem to know his purposes. The first of these talks was with Dr. Schacht, who fears war here the most. I wrote you that he was a little hopeful, but that Hitler could not participate. On the 16th of September I saw Secretary Dieckhoff, brother-in-law of von Ribbentrop, one of the favorites of the Fuehrer, now Ambassador in London. Incidentally, the TIMES story was mentioned. He was of the same attitude as Schacht, only less committal. On the 15th of October I saw Minister von Neurath, head of the Foreign Office here, and the subject of German-British relations was discussed. When I asked whether Germany would really participate in the proposed Locarno conference, he said: "In case England satisfies the Italian demands." This led to a reference to the imminent danger of war here, and I asked whether Hitler would agree to participate in a peace conference of the greater Powers. He said: "Only in case the

The President  
The White House,  
Washington.

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main points are agreed to beforehand." This I took to mean a previous promise to Italy and Germany of colonies and condemnation of Russia. I asked whether the Fuehrer intended to send the Russian Ambassador home. He said no, but added: "The Russian position here is getting to be so embarrassing that I think he will go home" - no successor to be appointed. This last he did not say, but made me believe.

These interviews and the statements rather definitely made seem to me to mean no approval of a peace conference unless Germany and Italy are granted about all they want. And events in Europe since last December all point the same way: Hitler and Mussolini intend to control all Europe. If that be agreed to beforehand, a peace conference is quite possible; but what sort of a peace? Anyone who knows the sophomoric and egotistic mentalities of these men and their chief supporters can hardly fail to forecast the coming state of European civilization. Is there any way democratic countries can save the civilization which dates back to Luther, Erasmus, the Hollanders and the English?

Our country made democracy possible for Europe between 1776 and 1815, the population 3,000,000 to 8,000,000. It was a "miracle" which made the French Revolution possible, and then all western Europe became substantially democratic before 1860. The war of 1914-18 would have subjected Europe to a single dictatorship but for the intervention of our country: our one aim to save democracy. The blunders all greater nations have made since 1920 surpass anything recorded in modern history. Now we see clearly what is before us. Can our country of 130,000,000 people and more real wealth than all western Europe do anything? Our people say no; and the Senate says the Constitution authorizes one-third of their members to defeat any policy the President

might persuade men to accept: their treatment of Wilson's programme.

## II

Much as I believe in peace as our best policy, I cannot avoid the fears which Wilson emphasized more than once in conversations with me, August 15, 1915 and later: the breakdown of democracy in all Europe will be a disaster to the people. But what can you do? At the present moment more than a hundred American corporations have subsidiaries here or cooperative understandings. The Du Ponts have three allies in Germany that are aiding in the armament business. Their chief ally is the I. G. Farben Company, a part of the Government which gives 200,000 marks a year to one propaganda organization operating on American opinion. Standard Oil Company (New York sub-company) sent \$2,000,000 here in December 1933 and has made \$500,000 a year helping Germans make Ersatz gas for war purposes; but Standard Oil cannot take any of its earnings out of the country except in goods. They do little of this, report their earnings at home, but do not explain the facts. The International Harvester Company president told me their business here rose 33% a year (arms manufacture, I believe), but they could take nothing out. Even our airplanes people have secret arrangement with Krupps. General Motor Company and Ford do enormous businesses here through their subsidiaries and take no profits out. I mention these facts because they complicate things and add to war dangers. If you wish proof of this story, talk with our Commercial Attaché here, Douglas Miller, in the United States till early December.

Whether our people can prevent another world war is certainly a grave question. Yet no real democratic President can fail to realize the consequences of a world war to us. There is, however, increasing evidence here, in Rome, Paris and London that we may not have a war soon.

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Germany and Italy, with the greatest war equipments any people have ever had, are cooperating in such a way that their dictators may do what they wish. You saw what happened last winter when Mussolini agreed publicly to support Hitler's Rhine move. Everybody recognizes the helplessness of France when Italy and Germany sent men, airplanes and arms to the Spanish revolutionists from July to October. And the second week in September Hitler, Goebbels and Rosenberg delivered offensive attacks upon democracies. If you or the English monarch delivered such an attack on neighboring powers serious results would almost surely follow among one's constituents. The democratic peoples in Europe made no protests, not even Russia. Of course the cruel dictatorship in Moscow could hardly look for international support. At the present moment small European democracies: Czechoslovakia, Sweden, Denmark, Holland and Switzerland, according to their representatives, are contemplating some such declarations as ungrateful Belgium made the other day. These Ministers say the League of Nations and the World Court have no more value; one sees readily why small powers resort to armed neutrality.

With so many democracies nervous, even fearful of annexations, and England and France helpless as a result of their foolish decisions since 1930, why may not Hitler annex strategic parts of the Balkan area and Mussolini seize islands in the Mediterranean without war? Spain is to be a protectorate of Italy, perhaps Egypt annexed. High officials here say Germany is to have colonies in the Far East with Italian-Japanese approval. One thing is certain: these dictators mean to dominate Europe and there is a fair chance of their doing it without war.

One serious difficulty is mentioned here by men like Dr. Schacht, and that is the enormous debt situation. According to best possible figures here, Germany owes her own

people 45 billion marks, only 18 billions publicly acknowledged by the Reichsbank. Debts to outside countries certainly amount to something like fifteen billion marks - with interest unpaid to many creditors. This debt situation is known to enough people to cause much uneasiness. If crops were to fail by half for a single year, there would be starvation to millions of people unless international credit could be had. The barrier system forbids imports even of food-stuffs. This dilemma is duplicated in Italy. So loans and commercial concessions may become most vital matters. Of course Germany rarely has a drouth; but five successive years of excellent crops suggest always the possibility of a short harvest. Hitler said a few days ago that a twenty percent shortage would be a calamity of the first order. A few days later Hess (intimate counsellor of Hitler) said: "Do not forget that cannon are better than butter."

The second dilemma will come when German roads from Berlin to all frontiers (roads so built that all crossings are under or above and speed said to be 200 miles per hour) and the German armaments are completed. That will mean three to four millions of unemployed. At present Germany has only one million unemployed. Four or five millions of unemployed would be more serious here than twenty millions with us. A debt here of 60 billion marks is far more serious in comparison to German income than 60 billion dollars with us.

A dictator of sophomoric psychology would probably go to war to avoid possible difficulties, even with his submissive people. Of course successful threats, such as we have witnessed the last year or two, might bring annexations and postponement of war; but these cannot solve serious economic situations. And here comes one more opportunity of the United



States to cooperate with European democracies. The stabilization matter suggests much, and increasing cooperation with the United States suggests more. But can our people ever recognize the importance of lowering tariffs for cooperating countries? Wilson's second method of bringing about world peace was freer trade. His first one was naturally the guarantee by larger powers of the borders and rights of smaller ones. Both of these have been violated almost regularly since 1920 and consequently there has been no real League of Nations.

This long story may not be altogether right; but it represents the best information I have been able to gether. One thing is certain: all well-informed people here, even distinguished Germans, think modern civilization is in grave danger, and they repeat their opinions to me: the cooperation of the United States with European democracies is the only hope we have. How can you lead our people to a correct understanding of things when they allowed a minority of the Senate (contrary to the intentions of the writers of our Constitution) to defeat Wilson's marvellous democratic foreign agreements in 1919, even if the Treaty of Versailles was bad? Certainly it was nothing like the treaty of Brest-Litovsk the year before. If you could only get the great nations to see things as they are and apply their coercive power to any leader who wishes to go back to the fifteenth century morals! That would be what Henry IV of France tried to do, what Jefferson hoped for in 1807 and what Wilson almost accomplished in 1918-19.

Sincerely yours,

*William E. Dodd*

EMBASSY OF THE  
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

12:15; 11:00 a.m.

Berlin, November 28, 1936.

No. 3165

Subject: A Survey of the German National Socialist  
Foreign Policy and its Development.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Declassified by D-11.9843  
(See P. Taylor, Public & Private, 11/14/63)

The Honorable

The Secretary of State,  
Washington.

Sir:

I have the honor to transmit herewith, for such attention as it may seem to merit, a survey of the German National Socialist foreign policy and its development, together with a brief statement of the outstanding external objectives of German statesmanship and diplomacy at the moment.

In the past it would appear that foreign statesmen have been given to viewing with surprise and dismay each new bold move of the Nazi Government affecting foreign relations, as though it were

something

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something which, having no particular precedent, simply could not be true. At least that is the impression one is apt to gain in following reactions to such moves in other countries. Surprising these moves may have been, but only to the extent that the exact time and manner in which they were sprung were not foreseen.

As a matter of fact, each new development has made it seem increasingly likely that the Nazi Government has followed, and intends to follow, with perhaps a certain amendment or shading here and there, the policy laid down by Hitler years ago in his book of books MEIN KAMPF. In making this statement, Hitler's policy vis-a-vis France should probably be excepted. In MEIN KAMPF Hitler constantly refers to France as the natural enemy which must be fought sooner or later, whereas at present on the surface there is no indication of the continuance of this attitude. The persistency with which all other MEIN KAMPF policies are being pursued, however, makes one reluctant to accept this change at face value over any long period.

There is certain justification for the immediate reactions which have taken place abroad and the consequent nervous tension, and even fear, resulting from each new Nazi move (quite aside from the fact that Nazi policy as laid down in MEIN KAMPF

is

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is alarming enough), in that it is no more than natural to believe that the broad policies of any political group are subject to change and interpretation to meet conditions arising through the passage of time, especially if those policies were evolved prior to rise to power. Furthermore, there appears to have been a great tendency on the part of other European statesmen to place, in the face of Germany's growth, faith and reliance in the sanctity of enforced treaty provisions, the power of the League, and the French formula of collective security, in spite of the probable warnings of alert general staffs against the military diplomacy of a new Germany re-vivified after the supposedly crushing defeat of the World War only a comparatively few years ago. But there is little reason for surprise if one is able to refer to MEIN KAMPF and therein to note that the principle for every developmental step was carefully and publicly outlined long since. Of even more importance, perhaps, is the point that there is but little reason to believe that in future foreign relations there will be any great deviation from the fundamentals therein laid down, regardless of the tragedy which may thereby be brought down upon an already overburdened Europe. There is even less reason for guessing at what the National Socialist government has in mind for the future.

Let

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Let me observe here the fact that Dictators such as Mussolini and Hitler cause surprise as much as anything because they really declare their intentions and carry them out. It is not bluff.

It is true that a Nazi action occasionally does not appear, on the surface, to be following the general policies to be deducted from MEIN KAMPF. As an example in point one may cite Hitler's Reichstag speech of May 21, 1935, in which he ostensibly offered peace, albeit on his own terms, to every country except Lithuania. Despite the bellicose attitude towards France in MEIN KAMPF, that country was included in the offer. Closer examination, however, reveals that this was mainly a tactical move undertaken to bring pressure to bear on Lithuania with the object of benefiting the position of the Memel Germans. As for the peace offer, he doubtless argued that it would not be accepted, but that if it were accepted it would furnish Germany with welcome respite and could later be broken when convenient.

This Government operates on a doctrine of stark realism which has as a corollary a brutal frankness and an opacity of vision toward the outside innate in the German character. It is evident that in regimes of the immediate past this characteristic has produced only a bungling type of statesmanship

and

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and diplomacy. However, under a highly-g geared system of human regimentation, quite acceptable to the Germans individually, especially after what they may have considered a laissez-faire period, a totally different type of diplomatic maneuvering has rapidly been developed and has apparently caught a number of European foreign offices off guard. It is a type which cannot be discounted and must be considered in all seriousness; in any event, it is a type which, by one method or another, is rapidly placing Germany back among the leading world powers - and the basic principles underlying all foreign policy are carefully set forth in the Hitlerian "Bible". Furthermore, this policy has already taken concrete form, in spite of the fact that many otherwise keen observers seem to be able to go only so far as to say that Hitler's Germany "plans to do things." Whether or not policy is being evolved by a more or less formalistic Foreign Office is of little importance in this type of government.

In examining the actual results of Nazi diplomacy and statesmanship, it is interesting to note that in the "program" of the then skeleton National Socialist Party dated as far back as February 24, 1920, at Munich, foreign policy almost identical with what appears to be the current one was set

forth

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forth in four of the 26 points. These four points read as follows in translation:

- (1) We demand the union of all Germans to a greater Germany on the basis of self-determination of the peoples;
- (2) We demand the equality of the rights of the German people vis-a-vis other nations, and the cancellation of the peace treaties of Versailles and St. Germain;
- (3) We demand land and soil (colonies) for the nourishment of our people and the settlement of our surplus population;
- (22) We demand the abolition of the mercenary troops and the formation of a popular army.

The last point mentioned above may not appear to have any direct bearing on foreign policy, but as any national action of Germany is so closely allied with its military set-up, it is fundamental, as will be explained further on. For the Department's information there is transmitted as an enclosure a translation of the complete program from which the four points outlined above are taken.

1/ It may also be of interest to note that the conditions and trend of thought in other European countries have been of no little assistance to Germany in the pursuit of her aims, surprising as it may seem. For example, immediately after the declaration of conscription on March 17, 1935, loud outcries were heard from practically every quarter against this blatant violation of a treaty which had stood for approximately 17 years, and the entire

continent

continent was in an uproar. While a number of countries directly affected by this move immediately began various military and diplomatic preparations after the first effects of the stunning blow had worn off, it was not six months after the event that arguments were heard even in the camps of the former Allies that perhaps after all there had been certain justification in Germany's action. The severity of Versailles was apparently a contributory cause to its own downfall. At present, after various other sections of the treaties have been similarly handled, the inviolability of Versailles is scarcely ever brought up in connection with Germany's growth and power. Then there is a decidedly important trend of thought in Europe away from 19th Century democracy and this trend has been extremely helpful, in the furtherance of her ambitions, to a Germany well adapted to the new autocracy of the era.

The aim of all National Socialist foreign policy is power and prestige with the ultimate objective of expansion both economic and territorial. Borne out by MEIN KAMPF, official pronouncements, and past achievements, certain outstanding tenets of Nazi doctrine are seen to be the premises and guides of this policy, as follows:

1. Power, and its correlative prestige, requires a strong army and navy, sufficient foodstuff



foodstuff and material bases, and friendship, or at least neutrality, on the part of other outstanding nations.\*

2. The Jew and his product Bolshevism is the one natural enemy of Germany.\*\*
3. Pan-Germanism - the belief that Germany should include all Germans.\*\*\*
4. The peasant is the back-bone of the nation, and a strong peasantry requires sufficient soil, to be gained by national expansion.\*\*\*\*

Keeping in mind the factors mentioned above which form the basis for Germany's foreign policy, it might be of interest to outline concisely her progress or retrogression in foreign fields under the Nazi regime. For this purpose one need not go back of the important announcement of conscription on March 17, 1935, as up to that time National Socialism was entirely too occupied with internal reshaping of German institutions to interest itself to any great extent in foreign affairs. The only possible event which might be noted before that date was the withdrawal of Germany's delegates from the League of Nations on October 14, 1933,

and

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(All documentary notations in which MEIN KAMPF is mentioned refer to the 1933 unexpurgated edition, Franz Eher Nachfolger G.m.b.H.):

- \* 1. MEIN KAMPF: pages 153, 689, 698, 708 and 732  
\*\* 2. " " : " 551, 703, and 750 et seq.  
\*\*\* 3. " " : " 152, 153, 154 and 736  
\*\*\*\* 4. " " : " 153, 154, and 728



and this event might be considered as a gain for the new regime, speaking strictly from the standpoint of the furtherance of its own aims.

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Beginning therefore with the conscription announcement the National Socialistic external gains and losses to date appear to be about as follows, the former being outlined first. In enumerating these points an attempt will be made to classify them according to the four main tenets, but it will be found that in many instances a development represents gain under more than one heading.

1 (a). The announcement on March 17, 1935, of the creation of a popular army, thus violating treaty stipulations and indicating that Germany was about to embark upon a foreign policy that was totally different from that which she had hitherto been forced to follow, was as important psychologically as in any other direction. Internally, it meant the reestablishment of the school of the nation wherein every sound lad took his two-year course, beginning in most instances as a rather callow, purposeless youth and returning as an erect, steady-eyed and alert man, ready to shoulder his share of the responsibility of German citizenship vis-à-vis sectionalism and the world. It meant the eventual direct employment of some 700,000 men and the indirect employment of millions

lions, with the consequent increase in business and in tax revenue. It meant that every German citizen unconsciously and involuntarily perhaps, according to his private views on National Socialism, could hold up his head and shake off the weight of the defeatist's inferiority complex. Externally, it meant that Germany could no longer be dealt with dictatorially and that her statecraft and diplomacy with a strong military background had to be reckoned with on a basis of equality mingled with fear, whether it was at a conference table or in lone-hand maneuvering.

Regardless of the justification of this action, the objective viewpoint must concede that the basis for National Socialist foreign policy was thus firmly established.\*

1 (b). The announcement of a naval building program was shortly followed by the Anglo-German Naval Agreement, reached on June 18, 1935, whereby the German navy might be constructed up to 35 per cent of the total British navy, and not only gave Germany domination of the Baltic but amounted to de facto recognition of Germany's breach of Versailles. Incidentally, because of the necessary absence of a portion of the

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\* 1. National Socialist "Program", Point 22, Munich, February 24, 1920.

2. MEIN KAMPF, pages 298, 307, 647, 648.

3. Embassy despatch No. 1876, of March 26, 1935.

British navy in eastern waters the ratio is more favorable to Germany than would appear at first sight. Furthermore, England's action, independent of France, may be viewed as a diminution of French prestige and a corresponding gain in German prestige.

It will be recalled that rapprochement with England has ever been one of the fundamentals of Hitler's doctrine of foreign policy.\*

1 (c). One of the first fruits of the attainment of armed power was the reoccupation of the Rhineland beginning March 7, 1936. Even more important than as another blow at the Treaty of Versailles, was the effect of this action in two other directions. First, French prestige was vitally impaired in that with the decision of the French general staff not to take military action against Germany, it became apparent to all that France was no longer prepared to take up arms on every major provocation, and in that her allies may well have taken note that France would think twice before deciding affirmatively on what really constituted a casus belli. The action on March 7th shut off France from her eastern allies

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\* 1. MEIN KAMPF, pages 154 (Germany and England against Russia); 699 (alliance with England desirable); 701 (divergence of British and Jewish interests).

2. Embassy despatch No. 2085, of June 26, 1935.

and being unopposed materially meant the end of French hegemony in Central Europe, and the consequent loss to French prestige, therefore, is obvious. Second, the practical success of Nazi policy in this case convinced the dubious elements of the army headed by General von Fritsch, which had hitherto evidenced reserve, of the national efficacy of the party and thus brought about the desired unity of these two factors.

Stresa and the famous British questionnaires, as well as all other attempts thereafter to influence Germany, were, in effect, calmly and successfully disregarded by Hitler in the determined pursuit of his objectives.

1 (d). The obvious instruments of power, the army and navy, together with the para-military organizations, are thus seen to have been developed. The next step of obtaining sufficient foodstuff and material bases is being advanced in the country by the so-called foodstuffs battle and the Four-Year Plan.\* Their effect on foreign policy has thus far been manifested in a striving for control in the Danubian basin - the agreement with Austria the "gateway" to that area, the parallelism with Italy, the rapprochement with Hungary and Yugoslavia, Germany's key state

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\* Embassy despatch No. 3106, of October 21, 1936, and No. 3088, of October 8, 1936.

in the Balkans, better relations with Hungary, Yugoslavia and Bulgaria, and the anti-French developments in Rumania brought about by the Franco-Soviet Pact, are steps in that direction. The fostering of these friendships is, aside from the broadening of Germany's supply bases, a distinct gain along the line of political policy, especially as it weakens the position of the Little Entente and the general French idea of collective security and European hegemony.

The agreement with Austria,\* concluded on July 11, 1936, constituted a gain in prestige and afforded an opportunity for broader National Socialist activity which may bear fruit in the future. The fact that this was brought about with at least the tacit approval of Italy has the appearance of a gain, in that it was one of a chain of developments which led to rapprochement with Italy.

1 (a). Germany's power was originally broken by the Treaty of Versailles, but the struggle to regain her strength was continually hampered by the League of Nations. This body, regardless of the intentions of its founders, proved in effect to be an instrument for the perpetuation of the Treaty, skillfully wielded by France with the aid of her satellites whose very existence was based thereon. Under

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\* Embassy despatch No. 2941 of July 15, 1936.

these circumstances any loss of prestige on the part of the League must be considered as a corresponding gain for Germany.

Such gains are associated with the failure of the League successfully to settle a long list of international difficulties ending with the fiasco of sanctions against Italy in the Ethiopian conflict, and including a variety of outstanding developments such as those connected with the well-known terms Disarmament, Manchukuo, El Gran Chaco and Danzig.

The bungling on the part of the League resulting in antagonizing Italy, was importantly instrumental in bringing about the present "parallelism" of Fascism with National Socialism after a period of vociferous hostility.

2 (a). Under the second main tenet of foreign policy, one is led to believe that National Socialist doctrine of opposition to Jewry and Bolshevism might well be based on the realization that in addition to a series of more or less popular and altruistic slogans such as "Gemeinnutz geht vor Eigennutz" (The Common Good Before The Individual Good), "Blut und Boden" (Blood and Soil), and "Gleichberechtigung" (Equality), etc., a radical political movement must acquire a concrete enemy both internal and external which, even after accession to power, may prove useful as a menace, a scapegoat, an object of ridicule,

or



or for diverting public attention in turn as occasion requires. Doubtlessly prompted by actual political conditions Jews and Bolshevism were at the very outset selected for this role and have proven increasingly useful to the Nazis, thus justifying their choice.\*

A master stroke of Nazi tactics was the identification of one with the other.\*\* While these tactics may be viewed as first-rate demagoguery, the fact must be admitted that Communism was at least a potential danger in Germany and that the Jews had achieved a position of preeminence ill suited to Nazi mentality. In international relations, opposition to Bolshevism has specifically developed into hostility to the Soviets whereby Nazi ideology and the identification of Communism with Jewry is proving increasingly useful, particularly as a means of propaganda appealing to the instinctive, wide-spread fear of Bolshevism and thus finding fertile soil in at least parts of the population of practically every European country today.

Active opposition to "Jewish Bolshevism" in the field of foreign politics really dates from the inception of the Franco-Soviet Pact. From Hitler

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\* MEIN KAMPF: page 351 et seq.

\*\* " " : pages 750, 751 and 752.



down all active Nazi agencies made valiant efforts to dissuade France from concluding a pact with the Soviets, and, after its consummation, to prevent its becoming effective as a political instrument. The entry of the Soviets into European politics via what Germany insisted on terming an outright alliance with France, and the left swing in France itself, made Soviet-Communism appear as an active threat to Germany, and France, after the apparent lull in the German LEIN KAMPF attitude, once more loomed as an opponent to be actively combated - but with different tactics. In defense against this professed menace, Germany launched an intensive anti-Bolshevik campaign which reached a climax at the Nuremberg Party Rally in September of this year and in which Germany insisted on her self-assumed role of champion of Western civilization as opposed to Eastern barbarism.

A campaign of attrition was then initiated against French prestige, as contrasted with the direct aggressive attitude key-noted in LEIN KAMPF - much more effective and insidious tactics in that they were susceptible of furtherance at all times and almost in any direction.

The anti-Bolshevik crusade served a second purpose in that it furnished a common grounds upon which might be laid the foundation for international friendships - "blec-politique".

Incidentally

Incidentally, Hitler's reference to the Ukraine, both in *Mein Kampf* and later at Nuremberg, gives rise to the unorthodox thought that the ultimate object of anti-Sovietism may possibly be to isolate and thus to weaken Russia as a first step towards at least economic cooperation on a basis agreeable and most useful to Germany. The possibilities inherent in such a constellation are too obvious to require detailing.

The stress placed on anti-Bolshevism on an international basis and the corollary drawing together of Fascist regimes has naturally enough awakened a fear that the Continent is splitting into two blocs corresponding to these alignments. Doubt apparently exists in the British mind as to the relative merits or demerits of the two movements, particularly in view of the undeniable similarity of their tactics and doctrine, and it cannot be predicted which bloc, if either, may find the support of English sympathy - English support is the perennial arbiter of continental power.

2 (b). As outlined above, the Franco-Russian Pact called for a persistent attack against the prestige of France, who was now considered as the ally of Bolshevism. For this attack Germany made skillful use of a number of other developments in the European political arena.

First, in the preliminary discussions with England of a possible five-power conference, Germany

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made it clear that her participation in such a meeting would be made contingent on (a) an innocuous authoritative interpretation of the Franco-Soviet Pact, and (b) the absence from the conference of the influence of Russia and of French satellites such as Czechoslovakia and Poland.\*

Second, the protraction of the Locarno preliminaries was probably largely instrumental in calling forth the Belgian king's recent statement of policy which placed particular stress on Belgian neutrality and definitely asserted unwillingness to assume commitments involving the guarantee of boundaries other than her own. A force which contributed further to Belgium's official attitude was the unceasing influence of the Nazi movement in that country. This movement shares many National Socialist tenets, particularly in regard to anti-Bolshevism, and there are material indications that there is more than theoretical interest in it on the part of Nazi Germany. The new position thus created by Belgium was a most important gain for Germany, not only morally but, as has been estimated by competent military authorities, it was equivalent to the additional strength provided by fifteen army corps. France, by the same token, suffered a corresponding loss, thus effectively terminating her claim to hegemony - which presumably

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\* Embassy telegrams No. 299 of October 9th, and No. 305 of October 17, 1936.

did not escape the notice of her satellites.

Third, without wishing to assert which was cause and which effect, another development connecting England with the above-mentioned Belgian move is to be noted. According to reliable information\* there is now being considered the formation of a "neutral bloc" to include England, Belgium, Holland, and possibly the Scandinavian countries, which would not undertake a priori to attack Germany on the issue of the maintenance of collective security in the East. The distribution of profit and loss between France and Germany is therefore evident.

Fourth, a result of the Franco-Soviet Pact was the rapprochement between France's new ally Russia and her old satellite Czechoslovakia, which developed into a sort of military alliance much to the disgust of Berlin, and one of the first thoughts occurring to the German Government was, of course, that the flying time between any one of the probable Soviet airports to be constructed in Czechoslovakia, and Berlin, was entirely too short for comfort.

Germany's recent unilateral termination of the international control of German navigable streams\*\* is a step which clearly brings home to the Czechoslovaks their important dependence on Germany as the

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\* The British Embassy, Berlin.

\*\* Embassy telegram No. 535 of November 16, 1936.

only logical outlet to the sea offering almost natural facilities for transportation, warehousing, etc., and in addition the general economic interrelation between the two countries, grown strong through usage, are ever present in the mind of the average practical Czech business man. The further fact that Czech leadership and public opinion are gradually awakening to the realization that no great material assistance is to be expected from France or for that matter England, is creating a feeling that in the long run alignment with Germany might prove more advantageous.\*

The German attitude towards Czechoslovakia is well characterized by repeated confidential statements of members of the German General Staff to the effect that from a military point of view, a complete occupation of the country would be a matter of hours only, and from the political angle it is German policy to support this attitude by isolation in various forms. All progress made towards this end may be counted as a gain for Germany - and there has been progress.

Fifth, one of the most direct blows leveled at the France-Soviet Pact came from Marshal Pils-Smigly, who, it is understood, in replying to French inquiries in Paris recently, stated that Poland could not see

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\* Despatch No. 534, September 25, 1936, from the Legation, Prague.

her way clear to permit the transit of Soviet forces through Poland under any circumstances nor would she permit the establishment of Soviet air bases on Polish territory, in spite of the considerable credit obtained from France for rearmament.

The independent attitude of Poland thus indicated has been subtly encouraged by Germany, realizing full well Poland's national pride and her inherent hatred of the Russians. The gain to Germany has been indirect only, as there are no indications of increasing friendship between the two countries.

2 (c). So much for the specific ramifications of the Franco-Soviet Pact itself. Independent of this development, certain other countries and situations have reacted definitely to Nazi anti-Bolshevik policy.

In respect to ultimate alignment with Germany, it may be said that Austria's position is even stronger than that of Czechoslovakia. The fiasco of Nazi aspirations in Austria, at the time when Dollfuss met his death and Italy established "the watch on the Brenner", has meanwhile been wiped out and Austria is now officially designated as a "German" nation. The agreement of July 11th and the subsequent visit of Secretary of State Schmidt to Berlin\* led not only to close economic and cultural relations but it is con-

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\* See Embassy's despatch No. 3163 of November 25, 1935.

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fidently expected that on Schmidt's return to Vienna a statement will be issued stressing Austria's adherence to the anti-Bolshevik front.

In Hungary, the recollection of the short-lived Bela Kun regime has sufficed to make the people receptive to German anti-Bolshevik propaganda, here suitably combined with reference to world-war brotherhood in arms. In Japan the rising Communist problems and the traditional enmity to Russia seconded by the absence of conflicting interests with Germany, has established a parallelism between the two countries which, just as this report is being written, has been consummated in an agreement to cooperate in combating Bolshevism.\* In England, the natural disinclination of a section of the population towards Bolshevism has permitted the formation of a Fascist party headed by Sir Oswald Mosley which lives on despite repeated accounts of its agony, and it is interesting to note in this connection that queries have been made in Parliament concerning the financing of this party from "abroad" - the German Propaganda Ministry is apparently credited with unlimited means.

In Spain, German anti-Bolshevik propaganda is generally assumed to have taken on the material form of bombing planes and cannon, and the political significance

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\* See Embassy telegram No. 249 of November 25th



fluence of German activities in that field is becoming increasingly momentous.

Even from the Berlin angle, where the view of German activities abroad is constantly and effectively clouded by press control and the party propaganda machine, it has been quite apparent for some time that National Socialist interest in Spain's civil strife was manifested by more than moral support of the insurgent group. Firmly convinced that the Madrid Government had the support of Moscow, Germany, in concert with Italy, on the grounds of combating a common enemy even prior to the publicly announced Italo-German "parallelism", and in spite of her "adherence" to the neutrality agreement, found ample reason actively to interest herself in supporting the national insurgents. Accusations, denials, and recriminations on the part of both Fascist and Bolshevik factions marked a period in which it became increasingly apparent that Spain was likely to become a proving ground for the domination in Europe of one or the other faction.

In this development the most important step of Germany, taken in unison with Italy, was the recognition of a Franco government\* before such a government was established, thus underwriting insurgent success

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\* Embassy's telegram No. 336 of November 18, 1936.

and definitely indicating Germany's alignment with any action whatever which she believes is necessary in any country or situation in combating Bolshevism - a new angle to German foreign policy.

Short of formal military assistance, Franco may now expect whatever aid he may need, as his defeat would mean too great a blow to German prestige in particular and the Fascist group in general. As long as Franco's success is in doubt, a German gain or loss in Spain cannot be registered, but the complete unanimity of thought on the subject between Germany and Italy would seem to preclude the latter eventuality.

2 (d). Last, but probably most important of all, in that it furnished Germany with a powerful and the only active ally on the anti-Bolshevik front, was the at least temporary parallelism with Italy cultivated carefully for some time previously by an endless interchange of official visits, consummated in a gentleman's agreement between Hitler and Count Ciano at Berchtesgaden on October 25, 1936, and manifested in the striking similarity of the texts of official announcements from both countries relative to international developments. Although this parallelism included many other important aspects in regard to the policies of the two countries in Europe, anti-Bolshevism was the flag under which they were united. Certain fundamental opposing interests and an underlying distrust of each other make the union appear somewhat

somewhat incongruous and unsteady, but it is nevertheless a practical one which will hold together as long as advantages to each are apparent. Having committed themselves even to this extent, one may venture to predict that close cooperation may continue during such time as Bolshevism appears to be a major issue in Europe - and in so far as the union does not align England definitely against Germany. Indeed MEIN KAMPF states definitely\* that a triple alliance with England and Italy is the only desirable closer foreign connection for Germany.

One of the first concrete results of the Italo-German agreement was that, together with the Austrian Pact and the Hungarian aims and leanings, it marked the beginning of an anti-Communist block through Central Europe which may involve many advantages to Germany. It may serve effectually in isolating Russia and Communism from Western Europe, and the possibilities thus created of furthering pan-Germanism, another main tenet of policy, are ominously apparent.

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3. Pan-Germanism, now briefly referred to as "Deutschtum", is the theory that all persons of German stock should be united under German National Social-  
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\* MEIN KAMPF; pages 705, 755 et seq. and 699.

ism. This idea is implied by MEIN KAMPF \* in criticizing the Reich boundaries of 1914 as not being "complete with regard to the inclusion of the people of German nationality" and is being strongly furthered under the leadership of the Verein für das Deutschtum im Ausland. With an active staff and extensive means, largely raised by direct popular subscription, it fosters Germanism and cultural relations with the Fatherland among Germans all over the world. Maps distributed by this organization show entire sections of many countries as nationally German, such as the Sudeten section of Czechoslovakia, Memel, Danzig, parts of Poland, the southern portion of Denmark, etc., as well as parts of Russia and Rumania settled by Germans. While for obvious reasons stress is at present placed only on the maintenance of cultural affinities, only the test of time and opportunity will indicate whether Nazi Germany will be able to resist the temptation to establish bonds of a closer nature - with these enclaves near at hand. Already there are definite indications of such ambitions in connection with Danzig and Czechoslovakia. While cultural relations with a political advantage in mind are maintained with German-American elements in the United States and Latin America, closer associations

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\* page 736

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with these sections is probably beyond the most radical of Nazi dreams.

With the exception of the gains mentioned above, progress in Pan-Germanism has to date evolved but little more than potentialities. Nevertheless, National Socialism, which thinks in long periods of time, gives no indication of relaxing its efforts without regard to existing political boundaries. While they disclaim all instrumentality in effecting this policy, it is interesting to note in this connection the existence of the so-called Auslands-Organisation of the party which ostensibly deals only with German citizens abroad, the somewhat recent mysterious inflation of the Kultur Abteilung of the Foreign Office, and the "election" of numerous Reichstag renegade members from Sudeten Czechoslovakia and Austria.

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4. While there appears to be no prospect of early expansion on the basis of "Deutschum", the drive for colonial expansion under the pressure of economic need of raw materials in the furtherance of their power policy, particularly in view of Germany's foreign exchange distress, has been pressed forward with more immediate urgency by Schacht and the Kolonial-Bund.

Although here also no concrete success has been achieved so far, there is to be registered the growth of a section of foreign opinion willing to consider the return

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of Germany's former colonies - a thing unheard of a year ago.

In view of the fact that most of the former German colonies were in Africa, we have here an instance in which circumstances, subsequently developed, have occasioned a deviation from Hitler's original MEIN KAMPF attitude \* - which disapproves tropical or semi-tropical colonies as unsuited to satisfy the main object of the colonial expansion he envisaged as providing an outlet for surplus population. Such colonies to be of maximum use must be in temperate zones, as near to Germany as possible, and offer an opening for peasants, the back-bone of the nation.\*\*

Hitler definitely considered expansion to the fertile districts of Eastern Europe a form of colonization which would best permit of organization and administration along the same lines of peasant development he has introduced so extensively in the Reich itself under the slogan "Blut und Boden" (Blood And Soil). Eastward expansion would seem to be the natural corollary to the long-standing and recently stressed anti-Soviet policy.

Certain passages in MEIN KAMPF are so definite on this point as to justify quotation. Thus, as a  
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\* MEIN KAMPF: page 153

\*\* " " : pages 153, 154 and 728



bread basis, one reads that "the foreign policy of a national state should secure the existence of the race united in that state by creating a sound natural relation between the number and the growth of the people, on the one hand, and the size and quality of the soil, on the other."\* More specifically, one reads that "however, such a soil policy cannot find its fulfillment for example in the Cameroon, but today almost exclusively in Europe."\*\* From here, one is led directly to the point that "if one wanted soil in Europe, this, on the whole, could only take place at the expense of Russia; then the new Reich would have to start marching again along the road of the old Teutonic knights in order to give, by the German sword, the German plow its soil and the nation its daily bread."\*\*\*

The above theory is quite generally presumed to hold good today, and while no concrete gains along these lines may be noted as yet, one hears constantly in well-informed circles of developments tending towards a realization of these ambitions. At one time a plan of attack against Czechoslovakia with Italian aid is mentioned; at another, Danzig, the Polish Corridor, or Memel on the basis of a deal, perhaps forced, with Poland; while the Ukraine, particularly owing to the

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\* MEIN KAMPF: page 728

\*\* " " : " 152

\*\*\* " " : " 154



attention paid to it both in MEIN KAMPF and recently in anti-Sovietism, is brought up in this connection.

National Socialist foreign policy, treated thus far under the aspect of gains, has also had a number of losses. Frankly and objectively speaking, however, such losses have been comparatively few, are found to be much less tangible than the gains, and seem to be more potential and theoretical than actual at the moment. For these reasons, it does not seem practicable to discuss them under the headings of specific tenets as in the case of gains.

Generally speaking, Germany's rapid rise to armed power has created reactions in Europe which do not make for the "peace" Hitler and his program seem so ardently to desire - in fact, actual advancement towards European appeasement has been exactly nil, due recently in a large measure, to Germany. Diplomacy plus sabre-rattling may be the means of obtaining what Germany thinks she desires of her neighbors, but the psychological effect of fear and uncertainty thereby produced, in itself retards the very progress towards which Germany claims she is striving, and in that respect she may suffer losses.

Thus, in spite of the care with which German diplomats and statesmen have endeavored to handle their relations with Great Britain, the latter has now quite patently come to the conclusion that Germany cannot be dealt with on any acceptable basis,

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that she "must be written off as a bad job", to use the recent confidential words of a high-ranking British official,\* and that England must therefore proceed with all possible speed to rearm for any emergency.

Likewise, losses must be recorded in the alienation of Poland by Germany's action in Danzig, and in the rearmament of Belgium which might be turned to the advantage of France. Even the armed "neutral bloc" which is believed to be contemplated in the west and which at the moment would give the appearance of an advantage to Germany, might, under the leadership of England, be used against Germany in the event of a war.

Furthermore, the Franco-Soviet Pact which was brought about solely for use against Germany, is still in effect and depending largely on its real military value must be counted as a loss for Germany. Because of the latter's basic enmity towards Russia she also forgoes the possible advantages of arrangements whereby a freer hand might be given her in recovering Memel and the Corridor, or in expanding in the Baltics.

In addition, two other really important losses in prestige abroad must be recorded, both resulting largely from National Socialist internal policy. By the stubborn but perhaps ineffectual doctrine of state domination of religion, Germany has alienated not only  
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\* A member of the British Embassy, Berlin.

the Pope and international Catholicism but Christianity generally; and by her attitude towards the Jews, the Church, the established systems of common justice, and towards real democracy in general, she has injured the sensibilities of, and alienated, a country which might have stood her in good stead during her economic and financial difficulties - the United States.

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In the foregoing survey, an endeavor has been made to indicate the development of National Socialist foreign policy on the basis of certain major theories, and to leave the conclusions to be drawn from an outline of the successes and failures of its ambitious and aggressive program.

If one might venture a prediction in the face of a mad scramble after "peace" through heavy armament for "self-defense" on a continent rendered tense by distrust and abnormal nationalism, it would be to say that for the immediate future there does not appear to be any vital force or combination of forces which will materially impede Germany in the pursuit of her ambitions. However, at least five possibilities must be considered in this connection.

First, the very maintenance of high-powered hair-triggered armament everywhere, although it is ostensibly for "peace" control, is in itself a constant explosive danger. Thus, the situation in

Spain

Spain, largely created by Germany herself, might well overnight result in embroiling the whole of Europe, and German policy could be either tremendously furthered or disastrously damaged. Indeed, it has just been confidentially learned that Hitler already feels remorse - more on tactical than moral grounds - at having succumbed to the blandishments of Ciano who persuaded him to join Italy in recognizing France.

Second, Germany's progress depends largely on whether or not she is able to maintain at least neutral relations with England.

Third, the economic and financial situation in Germany is a potential danger to the pursuit of her foreign policy depending on whether or not external political progress can be made to such a rapid extent that the intricate economic problems now facing Germany will thereby be largely solved as a natural sequence. In this respect, the constant pressing of foreign policy may at least be understood.

Fourth, there is always the possibility of a dictatorship getting out of hand in that the necessarily rapid developments on which it thrives internally cannot always be absorbed fast enough externally. In a dictatorship with as broad a foreign policy as Germany's this is particularly true. However, one may understand Germany's power and prestige pace better if it is realized that time plays an important role in her rearmament; most of Germany's so-called adver-

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series, notably France, have been fully armed for many years and much of this equipment is consequently now obsolete, whereas Germany's armament is of the latest. If Germany is to carry out her program, it behooves her to be fully rearmed and prepared before old equipment elsewhere can be replaced - and before certain countries, notably England, can arm anew.

Fifth, parallelism with Italy is two-edged and not reliable. There is a constant undercurrent of rivalry going on between Italy and Germany in the Danubian region. The very increase and menace of Germany's power may enable Italy to create a "protective" group there including Rumania and Poland - but this need not be hostile to Germany. In fact its purpose would be to keep on friendly relations with Hitler. In effect, however, it would mean that Germany's aspirations in Central Europe must be kept within bounds. Italy would thus be taking the place of France in Eastern Europe - but not necessarily on an unfriendly basis towards Germany, as was France's position, but distinctly as a "warning" unit.

One other point might be added. Bolshevism as a major menace in Europe must be either kept as such or totally exterminated by Germany's efforts in order to give her the impetus she requires.

Hitler, an instinctively adroit opportunist and a devout student of the methods of Frederick Wilhelm

I, during whose reign Germany's power, without resort to a major war, flourished as it never has since, has undoubtedly passed down to the German Foreign Office the gist of his foreign policy from whence it has been repeatedly doled out to inquiring diplomats in various forms as the occasion seemed to require, by Neurath and his spokesmen. It is that Germany will realize her aims without war, if possible, if not, - .

Respectfully yours,

William E. Dodd.

Enclosure:

1. Translation of  
National Socialist  
Program.

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Copies to Paris, London, Geneva, Rome, Moscow and Riga.

Approved  
and signed  
M. A.

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Translation.

The Program.

The Program of the National Socialist Party is a permanent program. The leaders decline to set up new aims, when those set up in the Program have been realized, merely for the purpose of making it possible for the Party to continue to exist by means of artificially fostered dissatisfaction of the masses.

1. We demand the union of all Germans to a greater Germany on the basis of self-determination of the peoples;

2. We demand the equality of the rights of the German people vis-à-vis other nations, and the cancellation of the peace treaties of Versailles and St. Germain;

3. We demand land and soil (colonies) for the nourishment of our people and the settlement of our surplus population;

4. Only he can be a citizen who is a fellow-countryman (Volksgenosse). Only he can be a fellow-countryman who is of German blood, without consideration of confession. Therefore no Jew can be a fellow-countryman.

5. Anyone who is not a citizen shall only be allowed to live in Germany as a guest and must be subject to legislation dealing with foreigners.



6. Only a citizen can be entitled to decide with regard to the management and laws of the state. Therefore we demand that every public office, of whatever nature, whether in the Reich, a State, or a Commune, must only be held by citizens.

We oppose the corruptive parliamentary system of filling posts merely from party viewpoints without consideration of character and qualifications.

7. We demand that above all else the state assume the obligation to provide for ways and means for its citizens to earn a livelihood. If it is not possible to care for the entire population of the state, the members of foreign nations (non-citizens) must be expelled from the Reich.

8. Any further immigration of non-Germans must be prevented. We demand that all non-Germans who have immigrated to Germany since August 2, 1914, be forced to leave the Reich immediately.

9. All citizens must have equal rights and duties.

10. The foremost duty of every citizen must be to work mentally or physically. The activity of the individual must not violate the interests of the generality but it must be carried on as a part of the whole and to the benefit of all.

Therefore we demand:

11. The abolition of income without work and effort. An end to interest bondage.

12.

12. In view of the tremendous sacrifices of property and blood which every war claims of the nation, personal profit through war must be characterized as a crime to the nation. We therefore demand the confiscation of all war profits.

13. We demand the nationalization of all concerns (so far) already amalgamated (trusts).

14. We demand profit-sharing in all large plants.

15. We demand an extensive development of the old-age pension system.

16. We demand the creation of a sound middle class and its maintenance, immediate socialization of large department stores and the renting (thereof) to small tradesmen at low rentals, the strictest consideration of all small tradesmen when making deliveries to the state, the States and Communes.

17. We demand a land reform adapted to our national needs, the creation of a law for the expropriation without remuneration of land for purposes involving the public good. Abolition of ground rent and the prevention of land speculation of every kind.\*

18.

\* Note. In the face of the mendacious interpretation of Point 17 of the Program of the National Socialist Party by our opponents, it is necessary to make the following statement:

As the National Socialist Party takes a stand in favor of private property, it is natural that the passage "expropriation without remuneration" refers only to the creation of legal means of expropriating, if necessary, property which was acquired in an illicit manner or which is not administered in accordance with considerations of the public good. Therefore this is directed primarily against Jewish companies speculating in real estate.

Munich, April 13, 1928.

Adolf Hitler

1300m38

18. We demand ruthless war against those who by their activity injure general interests. Public enemies, usurers, profiteers, etc., must be condemned to death, without consideration of confession and race.

19. We demand a substitute for Roman law, which serves the materialistic philosophy of life, in the shape of a German common law.

20. In order to make it possible for every capable and industrious German to attain a higher education and thus to enter into leading positions, the state must provide for a thorough development of our entire popular educational system. The curriculum of all educational institutions must be adapted to the requirements of practical life. Understanding of the idea of state must be achieved by the school as soon as (the age of) reasoning begins (science of citizenship). We demand schooling for mentally particularly endowed children of poor parents at the cost of the state, regardless of the station or profession of their parents.

21. The state must provide for improving the public health by protecting mothers and children, by prohibiting child labor, by bringing about physical vigor by means of a legal obligation to engage in gymnastics and sports, by supporting to the utmost all societies for physical training of young people.

22. We demand the abolition of the mercenary troops and the formation of a popular army.

23. We demand lawful opposition to the willful political lie and its dissemination by the press. In

order

order to make it possible to create a German press, we demand that

- a) all editors of newspapers which appear in the German language and their collaborators must be fellow-countrymen,
- b) non-German newspapers require the express permission of the state to be published. They must not be printed in German,
- c) any financial participation in German newspapers or influence thereon by non-Germans be forbidden by law and we demand as a penalty for contraventions the cessation of such newspapers and the immediate expulsion from the Reich of the participating non-Germans.

Newspapers that are contrary to the general good must be prohibited. We demand legal opposition to a direction in art and literature which exercises a disintegrating influence on our national life, and the closing of organizations that violate the foregoing demands.

24. We demand freedom of all religious confessions in the state, in so far as they do not endanger its existence or offend against the feeling of decency and morals of the Germanic race. The party as such takes the stand of positive Christianity, without binding itself to any specific confession. It opposes the Jewish materialistic spirit in and outside ourselves and is convinced that permanent recovery of our people can only occur from within on the basis of: The Common Good Before The Individual Good.

25. For the execution of all of which we demand the creation of a strong central power of the Reich, absolute authority of the political central parliament over the entire Reich and its organizations in general; the formation of chambers of vocations and professions for carrying out in the individual Federal States the skeleton laws issued by the Reich.

The leaders of the party promise - staking their own lives if necessary - ruthlessly to stand up for the execution of the foregoing points.

Munich, February 24, 1920.

December 24, 1936

SUMMARY OF DESPATCH NO. 3165 FROM AMERICAN EMBASSY  
IN BERLIN

Subject: National Socialist Foreign Policy

Hitler's foreign policy should not have been a surprise to students of "Mein Kampf"; the only exception being the present policy toward France which may now more to the line in the long run.

On the basis of this policy progress or retrogression has appeared in certain fields under the Nazi regime. Under the head of progress may be listed the following:

(1) The basis for a national socialist foreign policy was established in a conscription announcement of March 17, 1935, reestablishing the army and shaking off defeatism. The one event prior to this date which may be noted was the withdrawal of Germany's delegates from the League of Nations on October 14, 1933. Speaking from the standpoint of the furtherance of Germany's own aims, this event might be considered as a gain for the new regime.

(2) The Anglo-German Naval Agreement of June 18, 1935, gave Germany control of the Baltic and amounted to a de facto recognition of Germany's breach of the Versailles Treaty.

(3) Occupation

300001

(3) Occupation of the Rhine zone on March 7, 1938, cut off France from her eastern allies and internally brought a unity of view to the Nazi party and the German army.

(4) In seeking to promote more friendly relations in central and southeastern Europe the agreement with Austria of July 11, 1938, opened up a "gateway".

(5) The League has been an obstacle to Germany's gaining power and any weakening of the League was to Germany's advantage. The fiasco of sanctions against Italy in the Ethiopian conflict was a combination of a long series of such developments.

(6) The Jews and Bolshevism (Communism) have been selected in advance as perennial scapegoats for ridicule to maintain internal political enthusiasm. This maneuver has proven increasingly useful to the Nazis.

(7) The anti-Bolshevist campaign which reached its height at Nuremberg in September, 1936, was aimed at Soviet entry into European politics via the much-opposed Franco-Soviet pact and prepared the way for international friendships (Bloc Politique).

(8) The German attack on French policy took the form of objection to a five-power conference unless the Franco-Soviet pact was interpreted and unless Russian influence was absent from the conference.

(9) The



(9) The recent stressing of Belgian neutrality was an important moral and military gain for Germany and a corresponding loss for France. Arising in this connection is a rumor of a "neutral bloc" to include England, Belgium, Holland and Scandinavia, which would not undertake a priori to attack Germany on the issue of maintenance of collective security in the east.

(10) Czechoslovak dependence on Germany is brought home by the recent unilateral German denunciation of the Versailles navigation clause.

(11) Poland has now adopted an independent attitude encouraged by Germany though friendship between the two countries is not increasing.

(12) In addition to the agreement with Austria, the German-Japanese anti-Communist agreement and participation in the Spanish civil strife manifests further German activity abroad.

(13) Ciano and Hitler consummated a gentlemen's agreement under the flag of anti-Bolshevism at Berchtesgaden on October 25, 1936.

(14) The Pan-German Association (Verein fuer das Deutschtum im Ausland) seeks to maintain cultural relations with Germans all over the world. "Mein Kampf" foresees eventual bonds of a closer nature.

(15) Schacht

(15) Schacht and the "Kolonial Bund" are pressing for colonies. The opposition to tropical colonies expressed in "Kein Kampf" seems to turn the pointer eastward as a natural corollary to anti-Soviet policy.

..... Actual advancement toward peace in Europe has been all recently due largely to Germany (diplomacy plus saber rattling), and on the loss side the following points appear.

(1) There are indications that England feels that Germany "must be written off as a bad job" and England is re-arming for any emergency.

(2) Germany has alienated Poland to a certain extent through the Nazi's activities in Danzig.

(3) Belgian rearmament could also be turned to the advantage of France.

(4) The Franco-Soviet pact depending on its real military value can be regarded as a loss for Germany.

(5) Germany's internal activities have alienated Catholicism and to some extent christianity generally, and because of the attitude adopted toward racial matters, justice and real democracy, bad economic relations have arisen with the United States.

(6) Germany will seek to realize her aims without war if possible. If not? .....

PSF: Idda

DEPARTMENT OF STATE  
WASHINGTON

December 30, 1936

AF

My dear Mr. President:

I have just gone through an interesting despatch from our Embassy at Berlin on the development of national socialist foreign policy. I think you will find this subject of interest also and I enclose a copy of the despatch with a copy of a brief summary thereof.

Faithfully yours,

*Walter Brown*

Enclosures:

Copy of despatch No. 3165,  
November 28, 1936, from  
Berlin.  
Copy of summary of despatch.

The President,

The White House.

12000091

PSF 3066  
PSF 11111  
January 9, 1937.

My dear Dodd:-

I am glad to have your letter of December eighth. It did not reach me until the twenty-eighth. Something must be wrong with the mails or the courier.

From what you write and from what I read of events since then, the leadership in Germany seems to be in a rather difficult situation just now. The trouble about any world conference, as you know, is that it would bring fifty-five or sixty nations around a table, each nation with from five to ten delegates and each nation, in addition, with no authority to agree to anything without referring the matter home. From a practical point of view, the type of conference is an impossibility unless, as in the case of B.A., there are one or two simple principles on which all will agree beforehand.

That story by Arthur Krock was not wholly crazy. If five or six heads of the important governments could meet together for a week with complete inaccessibility to press or cables or radio, a definite, useful agreement might result or else one or two of them would be murdered by the others! In any case it would be worthwhile from the point of view of civilization!

I wish you could have seen those South American crowds. Their great shout as I passed was "viva la democracia." Those people

down there were for me for the simple reason that they believe I have made democracy function and keep abreast of the times and that as a system of government it is, therefore, to be preferred to Fascism or Communism.

My warm regards,

As ever yours,

Honorable William E. Dodd,  
American Embassy,  
Berlin,  
Germany.

Berlin, December 8, 1936.

Dear Judge Moore:

I am enclosing a letter to the President which I would like to ask you to hand to him as soon as you have an opportunity to do so. I shall write you a letter in a few days; at the moment I merely have time to get this off.

Sincerely yours,

William E. Dodd

Enclosure.

The Honorable  
R. Walton Moore,  
Department of State,  
Washington.

The letter came to him

immediately

Robert M. ...

207228

Berlin, December 7, 1936.

Dear Mr. President:

Your addresses in Latin America have occasioned a great deal of discussion here. The German people of the better informed classes are most favorable toward your propositions as to peace. Some university people, in the presence of officials, now as in October-November 1935, criticize the regime here, especially its militarism, which they think will plunge them into a war more disastrous to Germany than that of 1914-18. The Spanish struggle, with Germans supporting Franco, gives much trouble even to high army officials; but Hitler and Mussolini think they will come into control of Spain and still further frighten England and France.

Under these circumstances, I spoke quite freely on the fifth of December with the Assistant Secretary of State here, Dr. Dieckhoff. After his indications of grave concern about war dangers, I asked him what Germany would do if the American Conference now in session asked them to join a world peace and disarmament conference. He indicated more interest than Dr. Schacht or von Neurath did some months ago when I touched upon the same subject (see my telegram of the fifth.) This led me to speak freely about the grave danger of present German armaments and German-Italian-Spanish relations. He then said, in a round-about way, that he thought the Foreign Office would favor such a conference and would support gradual disarmament proposition. His greatest doubt was as to Mussolini's attitude.

The President  
The White House,  
Washington.



From what information I can get, there is a rising doubt here as to Hitler's success in his Italian, Japanese, Spanish procedure. High army generals were positively opposed to the recognition of Franco, and rumors circulate that Hitler fears now that he will not succeed this time as on former occasions - since December 1935. I enclose a news clipping which shows how Party chiefs are preaching to the people the Führer's status with God Almighty. This Gross speech is the third of its kind, i.e., Gross is the third Party man of high position who talks this way to teachers, writers and church people. It is the method of rallying simple souls to the idea that Hitler must always succeed.

There is no doubt that democratic countries in Europe would welcome a call for a world conference. Their representatives here stress this matter every time I see them - always confidential. What Hitler will say no one can say, certainly not Foreign Office officials. But if the Fascists do not conquer Spain, I am convinced there will be a silent popular demand here for international cooperation. Decided success of Mussolini in dominating Spain would not greatly please Hitler unless he could take what he plans to take from the Danube and Polish zones. No one can say what is the Führer's plan at the present moment. He is here every day now conferring with Party people who have been preaching such sermons as are revealed in the enclosed clipping. England is engaged in a quarrel about the King's marriage; France is divided sharply as to her policy; Russia is proclaiming her solid front against anybody that starts a war in the Balkan or Baltic areas; and all the smaller democracies are hopeless. It is my feeling that Hitler is simply waiting for his best opportunity to seize what he wants.

In case both North and South America agree to accept your ideas, there might be a world conference - and Germany might assent to representation if the Führer listens to the officials indicated above and actually fears, as the intelligent people do, that he might not win a war before 1938. Certainly the debt situation is bad. A half or two-thirds crop next year would be a most serious matter. There have been five or six good crop yields and these never rise above 80% of the needs of the country. With a debt about equal to the total yearly income, with new unemployment when arming begins to decline and a single bad crop, the economic situation might give a chance for a real international agreement, might.

Sincerely yours,

William E. Dodd

Enclosure.

p06

We have sent the  
grams about fixing  
attitudes here as to  
international rela-  
tions. This letter con-  
fidential

PS F: 110 d d

Jan. 30, 1937

Dear Mr. President:

Let me add to the thousands  
of letters of congratulation on your 55th birthday  
and especially your continued good health. No  
other President has had a more difficult or  
so tremendous task to perform. Not only our  
country but modern civilization is deeply  
indebted to you. All good wishes for the best  
possible solution of the problems of the next  
four years. Allow me to add some comment  
won't you have no time to read it.

Your recommendations as to the Civil Service  
are to me very important. Leonard D. White of  
the Civil Service Commission, perhaps the best  
informed person in the country on the problems  
involved, although formerly a Mass. Republican,  
is in full accord and thinks a genuine re-  
form inside the Service highly essential. I  
believe our people need to learn two things: 1.

that people should not seek governmental positions when they are not really equipped with knowledge of the problems involved; 2, that once in the service their country's needs, not personal parading and speculation, must always be the one objective.

My four years here have revealed to me quite as much as the sad experiences of Chicago - as to officials' neglect of the real objectives of their appointments. I found here a staff of seven men. Although State Department officials are always in their offices about 9. A.M., no one here thought he needed to begin his work before 10.30 or 11 o'clock. Now we have four staff men, all at their posts a little after nine when I am at my desk. They are real workers like the British and French staff people - also nine o'clock officials - and our reports cover all needed problems as well as when we had seven staff people.

Another curious habit. Our ambassadors have

all, so far as I know them from copies, felt free to send five to ten page telegrams repeating news already published at home. One of the first copies I received here from Rome was nine foolscap pages. The new Ambassador to Moscow sent <sup>me</sup> a five page copy about a conversation with Dr. Schacht. This means enormous expense for our people. My attitude from the beginning has been to send telegrams when anything important was to be reported, to correct newspaper accounts if important and to make telegrams brief enough to be read by the Secretary himself. It may be that millionaire ambassadors pay their own telegraphic bills, but I doubt it. One of the greatest causes of the long telegrams is the inability of Service people to write briefly and to the point. They have never trained themselves and never thought of saving money for their people. If Service people really work in their offices and learn how to write properly, they can save immenseness soon each year for the Department.

One of the greatest causes of the neglect and waste mentioned above has been the appointment of millionaires as ambassadors and ministers since 1897. I know Presidents are embarrassed when men who have given thousands, perhaps even a

hundred thousand dollars to his party campaign fund, press him for appointments. But the Service is greatly injured. Few other nations have millionaires here. The French is the only one I am convinced has as much as a million dollars. Our ambassadors have for more than thirty years spent large sums of their private income parading themselves, hunting, seeking distant mountains and employing ten to twenty servants. They scarcely entered their offices before eleven o'clock; and they did not actually study the history and backgrounds of the governments to which they were sent. Three men here spent from \$50,000 to 80,000 a year. No other ambassadors did such things to same extent.

The influence of such officials upon Service people has been to make them neglect duty and spend more than their incomes. One ambassador here spent \$40,000 a year; the next one \$30,000; and some staff members have said to me they would not live on \$7,000 a year, one of them going to Paris or London when he needed a new suit of clothes. I think all Service men and ambassadors should live on their salaries. If millionaires must be appointed let them spend their incomes in proper way at home.

This is a long story, but I think bears directly upon your Civil Service reform. Sincerely Yours  
William E. Dodd



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1937, Vol. I, General

pp. 638-640

Page: Dada

Berlin, February 27, 1937.

Dear Mr. President:

Before you receive this, you will have seen a telegram or two which we shall have sent. This letter is designed to explain things a little further in case you have time to read anything.

Hitler is in a difficult position. His people are afraid of war, but not so much as the English and French. He is trying curious means to unite everybody. Universities and schools are all reorganized with no opponents allowed anywhere, hundreds of professors dismissed or pensioned when too eminent. The Protestants and Catholics must all allow their children from their sixth year to be taken in hand by Party propagandists. Some preachers resist and are imprisoned; others, who are very eminent, continue opposition, but their supporters are declining in numbers. Several eminent Party leaders go about the country proclaiming the Fuehrer as a modern Jesus, reorganizing all churches on "true German" principles. Mussolini is of course the modern Julius Caesar, annexing Spain.

Just how real is the alliance between "Jesus" and "Caesar" one cannot say, the purposes of both conflicting. Certainly there are some doubts. Although many eminent Germans hope and pray for a royalist restoration, about all Germans think annexation or absolute control of the Balkan states is their right. Hitler curiously promises Holland, Belgium and

The President,  
The White House,  
Washington, D.C.



Switzerland complete independence, yet authorizes maps in universities, and for sale everywhere, which show these countries as parts of Germany. At the same time the propaganda in these little countries, as also in Norway, Sweden, Poland, Czechoslovakia and Rumania, secret and public, contradicts the idea of real independence of any country where there are any considerable numbers of people of German descent. Millions of dollars are spent each year in this direction, and Boehle, chief of Foreign Propaganda organization, is now the most important official in the Foreign Office after von Neurath. There are secret agents of Boehle in all the German diplomatic offices. What this means one can readily see.

Dr. Schacht said to me a few days ago at a table where high Nazi officials sat: "Mussolini is annexing Spain and later annexing Egypt - he is our Julius Caesar." I raised some questions as to the dangers. He insisted that he was right. I raised the point a few days later when von Neurath was in Vienna, and the opinion there was not quite in agreement. However, the Foreign Office has several times asserted that Germany would not protest against Italian annexation of Egypt. On this occasion the Foreign Office again asserted Germany's right to control the "Danube" zone, and hoped von Neurath could unite Austria, Hungary, Germany and Italy - a slight fear that Mussolini might not keep his promises to Germany, he being a masterful Machiavelli. When I talked about better commercial relations with the United States, the Staatssekretär said he favored proper trade and treaty arrangements. I asked why

we had received no reply to the State Department's invitation to send delegates to the proposed April conference in Washington. The reply was that the Economics and Labor ministries objected - i.e., Nazi officials.

When one, therefore, wonders about the possibility of a real peace conference in Washington or elsewhere, the answer is: Will Germany or Italy confer seriously with any other peoples when their major aims are to dominate Europe and do it by frightening the populations of democratic countries? Several times since I have been here the peoples of England and France, especially those of smaller nations, have been frightened so that they yielded, events in Ethiopia and Spain being best examples. At the same time, great business companies of all democratic countries have supported the German-Italian demands by increasing sales of arms and war supplies, ours quite as much as others. Even small countries, like Rumania, have risked their own fates by selling war materials.

So, how can a peace conference succeed? Only through a real economic-finance cooperation between England, France and the United States. Can this be done? You know how much opposition English and French businessmen made to the Buenos Aires proposals - almost as much as Italy and Germany made through secret propaganda before and while you were in Latin America. In case Spain is actually annexed by Mussolini and then Germany proceeds to make moves into the eastern zone (same as the 1900-1914 policy of army officials here), England and France might be frightened enough to join the United States in real peace agreements. But one can never know what the DuPonts and the steel people cooperating in Europe with

I. G. Farben and other corporations would do under cover, as they did more than once at Geneva peace conferences.

You are in the most important position in the world, with amazing economic duties at home. Yet real success at home can not be attained if a world war breaks or if the mainland of Europe becomes a solid dictatorship. You know the possibilities. I have simply tried to appraise things on this side of the Atlantic. I shall once more talk with high officials here, as indicated above, about Germany participating in a peace conference, and wire you the answers I get. All the really informed internationalists hope and pray for your success.

Sincerely yours,

*William E. Dodd*

P.S. - Have been told more than once that all this is reported to the Government here before or soon after it reaches you.

WED

624

*John C. Dodd*

Memo to R. Walton Moore  
From President

April 5, 1937.

In re-accepting Dodd's resignation to take  
effect Sept. 1st.

SEE--Walton Moore-~~100~~ Drawer 1--1937

P S F

PSF: I, 11

April 28, 1937.

PRIVATE AND CONFIDENTIAL

My dear Dodd:

I am dictating this just before I leave for a short holiday off the Texas coast, therefore, I will not even sign it myself. I am glad to have yours of April thirteenth and I know you will agree with me that the debate on the Supreme Court during the past three months has done more to educate the American people in basic principles of the Democratic form of government than any discussion since the issue of the bank of the United States over a hundred years ago. You are right that the coincidence of the one hundred fiftieth anniversary of the Constitutional Convention will aid in public discussion and therefore, in public understanding.

Will you send me a little more information on the new German Ambassador to the United States. How far can I go in talking with him either officially or "off the record".

My warm regards,

As ever yours,

Honorable William F. Dodd,  
U. S. Ambassador to Germany,  
Berlin, Germany.

(Dictated but not signed)

*Scott  
By Paul*

101

Confidential  
Hills

PSF: II 000

April 13, 1937

Dear Mr. President:

The Supreme Court's decisions of yesterday show the effects of your January move. I think their influence will be great though the Senate may take this as an excuse to defeat your reform measure. It is a little exasperating<sup>to</sup> have presidents of Harvard, Yale and Princeton, not one of whom has even studied our history closely, testifying before the Senate committee on the right of Supreme Court judges to do what is not prescribed in the Constitution - defeat the majority of our people. I sent Mr. Hopkins a copy of a letter I wrote sometime ago to Senator Bulkley and hoped you might have time to read it. Our country must learn to decide what policies must be applied and

not permit everlasting delays. No other President has had a more difficult task than yourself; all our Presidents have been defeated during their second terms when really constructive work was necessary; and the main reason for these defeats was the balancing of powers so that minorities could have their way. If you can correct this the dangers of the future will be greatly decreased. The 150th anniversary of our Constitutional convention is an excellent time to make your campaign. Discussions should be held in all our Universities, real discussions by people who know what the problems and purposes of 1787 were.

The situation in Europe is puzzling. The German-Italian co-operation plan in Spain has become so unpopular in Germany that three generals of the army told Hitler a few days ago that no more help was to be seen - certainly no more men; and Hitler reacted violently. Another point,



in spite of all the press and Hitler denunciations of communism, Göring told the Minister from Czechoslovakia a few days ago that Germany and Russia are getting closer together. Göring said the old Bismarck policy towards Russia must be re-adopted. That would mean a lot: the main hope is to have a Nazi dictatorship there. I doubt the success of the secret maneuvers.

The Danube zone is approaching economic cooperation and some sort of mutual assistance against Italian or German domination. Of course it is no easy matter with peoples who have warred upon one another for a thousand years, and speak different languages. However the ministers here all talk independence in a way not indulged before, and they say mutual assistance would make them a little United States. They express the hope that our country can give them assistance similar to that given Latin America. If this group of states should form a loose Union, but firm, it would force peace upon the Rome-Berlin dictatorships. There are 22,000,000 people in that zone. A conference of all these states in Budapest or Vienna with some American minister or commercial attaché present - with some authority - would have a great effect.

Curiously: strong friendship towards you is constantly expressed to me here by all Latin American representatives, ~~with~~ except the man from Chili - a

very wealthy Nazi. While all the rest declare friendship and admiration, the Argentines, the Brazils and the Colombian ministers announce themselves on every occasion as supporters of Franco and fascism in Spain; and they are more intimate with Göring and Goebbels here than anybody, except the Japanese representative. What <sup>that</sup> may mean I can't say; but it seems to mean their continued devotion to dictatorships in Latin America.

You may have no time to read all this, but I venture me more point. The English and French governments do not seem to grasp the meaning and danger of continued commercial rivalries and even hostility. I never get anything from the Ambassador here on this subject. English public opinion, judged from their press and their new Councillor here, favors co-operation with our country; but Cabinet people seem never to grasp the meaning of heated commercial rivalries and trade barriers. It looks as if the French are in the same frame of mind, though Blum seems wiser. Business men in the countries prevented Mussolini from being halted in Nov. Dec. 1932. And here German manufacturers have played the same role. Shall western civilization collapse in another great war - "great" industrialists the chief cause?

I certainly hope you can reform our Supreme and Circuit courts!

Yours sincerely  
William E. Dodd

Entirely confidential,  
it possible have a copy  
made and mailed  
to me at Room 3112,  
Virginia - my brother  
will be there.

May 24, 1937

Dear Mr. President:

In addition to what I wrote  
you sometime ago, I may add that the  
new Ambassador is considered more agree-  
able personally than Ribbentrop but of the  
same curious relations to the German For-  
eign Office. He is supposed to be close to  
the Führer and he told me that he had  
been ordered to come back in September,  
report to Hitler and attend the party  
shown at Nürnberg. Dieckhoff was, however,  
very liberal and frank-spoken before  
June 30, 1934. Since that time he has  
been most reticent and has been men-

tioned at a British Commonwealth dinner party  
his resolute conviction that Germany must con-  
trol or annex all the Balkan-Danube states.  
I replied: "we shall then be expected to annex  
Canada and Mexico!" He did not seem to  
see the meaning of this. Regardless then of his  
former Republicanism and excellent informa-  
tion about international affairs, he has sur-  
rendered, like Ribbentrop in England, to the ag-  
gressive demands of the Führer. I hope I  
am wrong in this estimate. The United States  
may influence him - he loves the country, he says.

The other matter I venture to discuss  
is the importance of this post, although noth-  
ing on trade relations is apt to be done. I  
have wished to retire late in the summer,  
mainly because I wish to finish my history  
of the Old South, also because I am  
frequently asked by Minorities to deliver  
lectures - on our own problems, so impor-

tant the next few years. But reports came to me that the Moscow man has demanded appointment to this post. I can not think you really favor such an appointment. I need not review his history. He simply knows no German and little or no European history. This is the last post to which such a person should be appointed - spending \$100,000 a year and leaving everything to the staff, chief of whom is a Nazi.

James J. Shatwell of Columbia knows German well, is highly thought of by intellectual Germany and by most Foreign Office people; and few men anywhere know European modern history so well. He would be most useful to you. He is a real friend contrary to all that Raymond Hooley may have said about him, and he is highly esteemed by all our universities - an important fact. He has never asked me to do or say anything for him. Another man of great value but not quite so well equipped is Stephen Duggan of New York. The best equipped man of the Middle West, who is also a strong supporter of your democratic policies, is now

personal friend, Charles E. Merriam. Any one of  
these would be needed all over Europe & here,  
the first-named most highly.

Much as I dread to stay longer, I am  
willing to do so if it helps you name one  
of these men later. Do not think me per-  
sonal in this matter. I hope to serve my  
country best and your programme is the best,  
the real salvation of democracy in the world if it can  
be realized.

Yours sincerely  
William E. Dodd

May 25, 1937.

My dear Dodd:-

Frankly, I was delighted with your letter to Bulkley. But because you are too honest and sincere to be a publicity expert, you did not realize that that one sentence about the billionaire would be the one thing in the whole letter seized on by the Press and a certain type of false liberal like Borah.

No one can answer the main points you made, and we are truly at another very important crisis. Some of our Democratic "friends" do not at all like the idea that I may keep on making speeches and radio talks for the next three and a half years. They think that a second term President should be duly grateful and retire into innocuous desuetude.

As ever yours,

Honorable William E. Dodd,  
American Embassy,  
Berlin,  
Germany.

V01



May 13, 1937

Dear Mr. President:

I congratulate you on your continued good health and your ability to get real benefit from a short vacation. You have the most difficult work of any President who ever held office in our country, and your good health is therefore one of the most important factors.

You are not, I hope, annoyed at the violent talk of Senator Borah and his fellow opponents. March 1, the

Paris Herald reported that my friend, Buckley, had made an address in Ohio against your Court reform measure. As other Democrats had also been reported as opposing your measures I wrote the letter to Mr. B. which I asked Mr. Hopkins to show you if you had time to look it through.

When I heard that parts of my letter were about to be quoted, I sent a copy to Judge Klosser three weeks ago for publication in Richmond in case that seemed well. The New York Times man here reported to me the letter had been printed in Virginia. Yesterday Senators took occasion to stress what I said about dictatorship and otherwise attacked me. No one answered the main points which prove how court vetoes and Senate minorities have defeated majorities. I hope the matter does not in

any <sup>way</sup> embarrass you. Nothing since the  
Civil War seems to me so impor-  
tant as your reform work. There-  
fore I wrote the letter and asked both  
Glass and Norris to read it. If we split  
up into groups we invite a dictatorship  
the next time we have a depression.  
and four times competent men told  
me such a thing was desired, three times  
when I was in the U. S. one time  
here. But it was always confidential.

Yours sincerely  
William E. Dodd

SE: Doid

[May 1937] These clippings from the Manchester Guardian - regarded here as most reliable.

John growing influence in the world is most welcome to English masses, most troublesome to the two dictators.

New German Ambassador to the U.S. talked freely and critically to me before June 30, 1934; since that time hardly a word except in praise, but not in praise of Goebbels. He is brother-in-law of Ribbentrop in London.

## PEACE BASED ON DEMOCRACY

### Mr. Roosevelt's Appeal

From our own Correspondent

NEW YORK, APRIL 14.

President Roosevelt to-day made another strong plea for international peace based upon democracy, mutual confidence between nations, and definite co-operation.

He spoke to the Board of Governors of the Pan-American Union, a body in which all the Republics in this hemisphere are represented. He urged his listeners to make sure that the pledges given at the recent Pan-American Conference at Buenos Aires were transformed into practical action. He said that democracy cannot thrive in an atmosphere of international insecurity. Such insecurity, he said, breeds militarism and regimentation and the denial of freedom of speech, peaceful assembly, and religion. He reminded his listeners that he had addressed the same body four years ago, and asserted that much progress had been made in this hemisphere in the interval.

After the President's address, which was broadcast, the microphones were cut off, two journalists excluded, and the President made some additional remarks privately. It is understood that he defended the Latin-American policy of his Administration.

## CHILDREN DEPRIVED OF NATIONALITY

### Nazi Decree

BERLIN, APRIL 14.

The name of Viola von Gulezow, better known as Ludwig Rehn, is included in a list of 31 Germans published to-day in the official gazette who have been deprived of their nationality. Ludwig Rehn's book "War" was one of the best sellers in post-war Germany.

The list also includes a number of children who are listed as relatives of people hostile to the State. The youngest of these is Peter Hauschild, who is under two years of age, and the ages of other boys and girls range from five to fourteen. -Reuter.

## JEWS IN GERMANY Severe New Restrictions Imposed

From a Special Correspondent

The unhappy position of Jews in Germany has been severely aggravated in the last few days. On the strength of a decree of the State police all Jewish meetings, including those concerned with sport, have been prohibited until June 15. Jews cannot therefore play tennis or football or enjoy river or other sports in public.

For publicity reasons the Third Reich declares officially that the cultural and social life of the German Jews is secured by the Nuremberg laws, but this decree of the secret police removes almost their last means of association for cultural purposes.

At the same time the State police is increasing its activity in another direction. In a great many parts of Germany members of the German aristocracy have been arrested recently and charged with secret monarchistic activities.

PSF:Uddg

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

June 17, 1937.

MEMORANDUM FOR SECRETARY HULL:

Will you speak to me about  
this at Cabinet meeting.

F.D.R.

June 12, 1937

Dear Mr. President:

My daughter mails this outside Germany, so I take the liberty to bother you although I know you have the most difficult task of anybody in the world: just a brief summary of the situation here.

Since von Zeeland was named as the man to go to Washington there has been an increasing opposition here to any possible trade arrangements of the U. S. with England, France and Belgium. The subsidies paid for exports have been increased and sales to Latin America, South Africa and China pressed stronger than ever. There is to be no abandonment of the Bohacht says of the bi-lateral system, not even with us as he had formerly urged. The object, now that an-

mainant work is beginning to decline, is capture trade against England, the U.S. and Japan, her ally. At the moment the Chinese brother-in-law of the ruler there is boasting here that they a second Hitler and everything possible is being urged as to trade between Germany and China - subsidies allowed to the point of selling at half the cost here. You see all this is aimed at two things: to find markets enough to escape great unemployment and especially to defeat Secretary Hull's plan. If von Zeeland does not succeed or if England is scared out of the arrangement, the world situation is going to be more controlled here than elsewhere. I hope then something real can be done.

Another phase. Russian ruthlessness has alienated France considerably and England more. Germany is being cultivated now by



both. This involves Balkan states, especially if Italy is isolated. The ministers from those states are more anxious than they have been since I came here. Just what will happen if the U.S. is isolated commercially, you can guess better than I. There is one danger. The Germans are threatened now with a great crop shortage. The worst drought here in 30 years people tell me. More than twice as much wheat has been bought than has been reported. If the drought continues one more week results are greatly feared.

Pardon this hasty note.

Yours sincerely  
William E. Dodd

Berlin, July 15, 1937.

Dear Mr. President:

The death of Senator Robinson is a sad event, not merely because he passed away early and suddenly, but it is even more unfortunate because of his loyal and able cooperation in your long struggle to correct abuses which have so long defeated real democracy in our country. I knew Senator Robinson well, and feel that his loss must be personal as well as political to you and other leaders in your régime.

What a tragic situation! Opponents will now renew their bitter and ill-considered opposition and perhaps urge adjournment of Congress without doing the most important things before them since March. They will not think of their waste of time, but only of their imitation of the blunders of preceding Senates. Think of Cleveland's, Theodore Roosevelt's (defeat of his very best program, 1905-09) and Wilson's defeats. The last defeat was successful because of Newberry's admission and of the behavior of that former Missouri Senator! Curious to me that all the major points, clearly made, in my letter to Senator Bulkley, were overlooked and only the brief statement that there was danger of a dictator struggle in case the leading parties broke into factions or failed to recognize the enormous vote you had in 1936 in spite of eight or ten million dollars spent to defeat you.

You have a great issue on hand, perhaps the greatest of any preceding President. It is now more a question of actual

The President,  
The White House,  
Washington, D.C.

democratic success than at any time since the foundation of our Government - possible exception of Lincoln's struggle for both the Union and democracy; and you know two Senators and the most powerful House leader expressed their satisfaction when Lincoln was murdered. Lincoln's plan for reconstruction was democratic, even his slavery attitude.

The Supreme Court has often had very able judges, but their majorities have nearly always opposed democratic principles. I need not mention again positive proofs of this - think of the Newberry ruling of the Supreme Court on Hughes' argument! The Constitution does not grant power to overrule Congress and Presidents' agreements on measures, much as some lawyers argue that it does. However, an amendment ought now to be passed by the States, only millions of dollars would be spent in critical States to defeat the resolutions to that effect. No other democracy in the world has a court to defeat acts of national legislatures; and the Nazi papers here have more than once spoken of our judicial dictatorship.

What can your Administration do in case your leading measures are defeated? I think there might be a nation-wide campaign in 1938 on the basic question: whether our country will save its democracy. With Europe about to go Nazi or Fascist, our people might be brought to give another great vote like that of 1936. You know how much propaganda is being made in our country for Naziism or Fascism - scores of paid agents active in all the greater cities. I only wish you and your cooperative friends may be able to make our faith in democracy plain to all the world.

Sincerely yours,

William E. Dodd

*x Even communists of Russia  
make propaganda with us.*

July 16, 1937.

TR:

Please have the attached translated and return to Mr. Moore.

A. E. Mullen  
Room 202

JUL 16 1937 AM

# „Deutschland in vollem Recht“

Eine sensationelle Rede des amerikanischen Unterstaatssekretärs Welles  
From MORGENPOST, Berlin, July 8, 1937

DND Washington, 8. Juli

Unterstaatssekretär Welles hielt am Mittwoch vor dem Institute of Public Affairs in ebullienzvolle im Rahmen einer akademischen Vortragreihe der Universität des Staates Virginia einen Vortrag. Er gab in seiner Rede eine sehr bedeutende offene Verlegung der amerikanischen amtlichen Stellungnahme zur europäischen politischen Lage, die um so größere Wichtigkeit beizumessen ist, als seine Ausführungen dem Präsidenten Roosevelt und Außenminister Hull vorgelegt worden dürfen.

Welles bezeichnete zunächst Spanien als das Schlachtfeld, auf dem zwei einander feindliche Weltanschauungen sich bekämpfen. Aber, so betont er weiter, der spanische Krieg ist nur ein düsteres Vorzeichen der Katastrophe, die der Welt droht, ist nicht die Katastrophe selbst. Schuld ist der Versailler Vertrag, der die Besiegten zu unüberwindlichen Nationen stempelte und ihnen jede Hoffnung auf eine bessere Zukunft raubte. Die Ungerechtigkeit und die falsche Begründung der Bestimmungen des Friedensvertrages waren der Hauptgrund für das Chaos, aus dem Weltkrieg folgte und folgen mußte. Sodann wendet sich Welles voll und ganz auf die Lage Deutschlands hinsichtlich der Forderung des Versailler Vertrages, indem er folgendes erklärt:

„Wir sollten in den Jahren seit dem Versailler Vertrag gelernt haben, daß ein dauerhafter Friede nicht auf Nachgefühlen aufgebaut werden kann, daß Millionen von Menschen nicht gezwungen werden können, einer hoffnungslosen Zukunft ins Auge zu sehen, daß man von ihnen nicht erwarten kann, die ganze Last der Schuld zu tragen, Reparationen zu leisten für die ungeschickten oder tatsächlichen Fehler oder Fehler der

Führer einer früheren Generation in ihrem Vaterland. Männer und Frauen, die in eine solche Lage gedrängt werden, haben ihre und werden stets die erste Opferrolle spielen, um sich von solch untragbarer Verantwortung zu befreien.“

Ich glaube, daß die Zeichen, an denen die Welt heute krankt, in erster Linie die fundamentalen Ursachen haben, daß die Ungerechtigkeiten und solchen Gebietsverteilungen nach dem Weltkrieg nie beseitigt oder behoben worden sind. Und diese Ursachen sind ganz offensichtlich sowohl politischer wie wirtschaftlicher und finanzieller Natur.“

## Das Programm Amerikas

Was kann nun die amerikanische Regierung tun, um an ihrem Teil zum Wiederaufbau einer gesunden und glücklichen Welt beizutragen, findet dann Welles. Amerika unterbreite ein weitläufiges Programm, an dem mitzuarbeiten es voll bereit ist:

1. Veranlassung bezüglich der freiwillig eingegangenen internationalen Verpflichtungen; 2. Abschaffung oder Milderung der geschehen militärischen Schranken im Welt handelsverkehr; 3. Begrenzung und spätere Abschaffung der Rüstungen; 4. häufige Besprechungen zwischen Vertretern der Regierungen sowie freier Meinungsäußerung.

Wenn, so schließt Welles, die europäischen Nationen überdies die politischen Ungerechtigkeiten des Versailler Vertrages beseitigen, so werde die amerikanische Wirtschaft in die Lage kommen, in ihren internationalen Beziehungen der Welt friedung der Welt beizutragen.

This came to me last week in a personal  
letter from H. Dodd & I read it  
translated into work day issue of the  
contents.

I should only place it in my  
personal file with H. Dodd's  
letter.

Return

(1/19/77)

[TRANSLATION]

MORGENPOST, Berlin, July 8, 1937.

"GERMANY ENTIRELY RIGHT"

A Sensational Speech of American Under Secretary of  
State Welles

DNB, Washington, July 8th.

On Wednesday, Under Secretary of State Welles delivered an address before the Institute of Public Affairs at Charlottesville, as one of a series of lectures at the University of the State of Virginia, that is held every summer. In his address he gave a very significant and frank exposition of the official American attitude toward the European political situation, to which all the more importance is to be assigned as his remarks must have been submitted to President Roosevelt and Secretary of State Hull.

To begin with, Welles designated Spain as the battlefield on which two mutually hostile views of life are combatting each other. But, he emphasized further, the Spanish War is only an outward indication of the disease from which the world is suffering; it is not the disease itself. The Treaty of Versailles, which stamped the conquered as second-rate nations and robbed them of any hope for a better future is to blame. The injustice and the false basis of the provisions  
of

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of the treaty of peace were the main reasons for the chaos which followed, and was bound to follow, the World War. Then Welles placed himself fully and entirely on Germany's side with regard to the tearing up of the dictated Treaty of Versailles by solemnly declaring:

" We ought to have learned during the years since the Treaty of Versailles that a permanent peace cannot be founded on feelings of revenge, that millions of human beings cannot be forced to face a hopeless future, that they cannot be expected to devote their whole life to the task of making reparation for the alleged or real misdeeds or mistakes of the leaders of an earlier generation in their fatherland. Men and women forced into such a situation always have taken, and always will take, the first opportunity to free themselves from such intolerable servitude.

the  
"I think that/primary and fundamental cause of the ills from which the world suffers today is that the injustices and wrong distributions of territory after the World War have never been rectified or redressed. And these causes are obviously not only of a political but also of an economic and financial nature."

"Now



America's Program.

"Now what can the American Government do to contribute its share toward the rebuilding of healthier and happier world?", Welles then asked. "America has submitted a broad program, on which she is fully prepared to collaborate:

"1. Faithful observance of treaties, with respect to international obligations assumed voluntarily; 2. the abolition or reduction of the innumerable artificial barriers to international trade; 3. limitation and eventual reduction of armaments; 4. frequent conferences between representatives of governments, and free exchange of views.

"If", Welles concluded, "the European nations on their part correct the political inequities of the Treaty of Versailles, American public opinion will certainly favor by an overwhelming majority the collaboration of America with the other nations in the pacification of the world".

Translator's Note: The German version diverges considerably from the original.

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**PRESIDENT'S SECRETARY'S FILE:**

**Diplomatic Correspondence w/ Germany: Hugh R. Wilson:**

**March-November 1938**

PSF

Germany; Wilson

*file*

Berlin, March 12, 1938

My dear Mr. President:

I wrote you a week ago about my first interview with the Reich Chancellor. I have subsequently had another talk with him on the occasion of Mr. Hoover's visit, but as we are preparing a formal despatch on this subject I will not go into detail.

In this second conversation I found his attitude much less strained, although it was far from being informal. There was an occasional attempt on his part at humorous exposition, usually in the form of ostensibly exaggerated statement. We discussed sociological and economic questions almost entirely, the only ideological one being that both Mr. Hoover and he were convinced that for his own country, without attempting to speak for the other, the present ideology was the best.

I

The President,

The White House,

Washington.

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I find that the Germans are apt to describe Hitler as an "artist" and, indeed, the word is applicable if we consider it in the sense of Ruskin: in the sense of a man who arrives at his decisions and undertakes his action largely through instinct rather than ratiocination. He is widely informed, of course. He could not manage this vast machine unless he were, but his reasoning, while making use of this knowledge, tends to justify an emotional concept.

As an example to illustrate what I have just said, Hitler was discussing housing accommodation. He gave the figures of housing needs as well as figures for the German achievement. This led him on to the work of the Party in endeavoring to give diversion and interest in life to the workman. He touched briefly on the excursions and various gymnasias, et cetera, and then spoke somewhat as follows:

"I feel so deeply on one subject as to be almost fanatical, and that is that men need not only food to put in their bellies, roofs over their heads, but a certain moral inner satisfaction, in order to be really productive and good citizens. I have tried to do those things which the State owes its people and to do them without being forced thereto by labor organizations, labor agitation, strikes, lock-outs and other forms of industrial conflict. As a result of this obligation of the State our workmen have remained happy, our production has enormously increased, our State income has doubled and wages have not been raised."

It

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It seems to me that if we think of Hitler as the artist, it explains a great deal. It explains his uncanny ability to weigh chances, to estimate the extent of the reluctance on the part of the other states to intervene, to time his blows when the other states feel most impotent. In this matter of Austria he has picked out the moment when Schuschnigg's folly was generally recognized, when Italy had just started its negotiations with Great Britain and before they had reached conclusion, when France was without a government. His dramatic visit to the town of his birth and his own revelation of what it means to himself to come home in this connection - all seemed to me to be a revelation of some measure of artistic feeling. Bismarck would have weighed conditions in other countries. Bismarck would have taken advantage of Schuschnigg's attempt to call a plebiscite without preparation. Bismarck would never have been able, however, to make the personal appeal to the Germans and to the Austrian people that Hitler made in his speech at Linz.

These are immediate impressions and perhaps further study will modify them. I am merely attempting to give you a picture of how the scene looks from here.

The news of the march into Austria could not have come to me in more dramatic circumstances. My wife and I had been invited on Friday night, March 11th, to one of General GÖring's gigantic parties. He gives them in the old Herrenhaus, which he has had done over in a form both garish and beautiful. In his ability to handle great shows he would strike envy to the hearts of any of our Hollywood directors. There was a huge orchestra from the opera, the best singers of Germany, the best dancers, gathered together, supper and wines were of superlative quality. We were at GÖring's table. He entered late amid a blare of trumpets, followed by a burst of music from the orchestra. A fat, round figure in resplendent uniform with ~~the~~ striking, clean-shaven face, he strode around the room saluting and taking the salutes of everybody present. Like wildfire, rumors went around the room that the break into Austria had occurred. There was apparent on every German face a mighty satisfaction and intense pride of power, only mitigated by a certain apprehension as to what Great Britain would do about it. They had measured Italy and knew it would not act. They knew France would not act without a government. There remained, nevertheless, the incalculable mentality of Great Britain.

The

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The show itself was given and was admirable. Göring talked to the ladies while this was going on. As soon as it was finished he seized the British Ambassador by the arm and disappeared. We only saw him again to say good night later in the evening.

I suppose every one in the room had in their consciousness the memory of the Ball of Brussels on the eve of Waterloo. The contrast of the brilliance of the entertainment with the gamble that was being undertaken made the whole political development the more striking and dramatic.

I am,

my dear Mr. President,

Respectfully yours,

*Hyatt Wilson*



WORLD CONGRESSES ON LEISURE TIME AND RECREATION,  
AND THE INTERNATIONAL CENTRAL BUREAU FOR  
JOY AND WORK.

While not entirely germane to the subject of this report, mention must be made of the World Congresses on Leisure Time and Recreation, and of the International Central Bureau for Joy and Work, in view of the fact that high officials of the German Labor Front play a prominent role in both these activities.

The first World Congress on Leisure Time and Recreation met in Los Angeles in 1932 concurrently with the Olympic Games of that year and was sponsored by the National Recreation Association of the United States under the leadership of Mr. Gustavus Town Kirby. An International Advisory Committee was set up which decided to hold the next World Congress in Hamburg on the occasion of the Olympic Games taking place in Germany in 1936. At Hamburg the International Advisory Committee resolved to found a permanent International Central Bureau for Joy and Work which would have its seat in Germany and which would be headed by Dr. Ley, the leader of the German Labor Front. The Committee also elected to hold a World Congress every two years and in July of 1938 the Third World Congress met in Rome.

According

According to a list published by the International Central Bureau, the following countries were represented at Rome by official delegations or delegates named with the approval of their governments: Afghanistan, Albania, Argentina, Belgium, Bolivia, Bulgaria, Canada, Czechoslovakia, Chile, Costa Rica, Danzig, Egypt, Estonia, Finland, France, Germany, Great Britain, Japan, Greece, Guatemala, Hungary, India, Irak, Latvia, Lithuania, Mexico, Nicaragua, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Poland, Portugal, Rumania, Siam, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, Turkey, Uruguay and Venezuela. The United States appears to have been represented unofficially by Mr. Kirby and several other American delegates.

The International Central Bureau for Joy and Work is supported almost entirely from German sources and its managing director is Dr. Manthey, a German. It publishes a lavish, and what must be a very expensive, monthly periodical called FREUDE UND ARBEIT, a copy of which is enclosed. The bureau also has begun publication of a research series, the first issue of which is also enclosed. On page 51 of this periodical, which is entitled DAS NEUE PROTOKOLL, will be found an account in English dealing with the organization of leisure time in the United States.

JDB:EM

SOURCES OF INFORMATION AND LIST OF  
ENCLOSURES.

As far as is known there has never been published, either in German or English, a comprehensive survey of the activities of Strength through Joy. The writer has therefore had to elicit his information for this report from numerous interviews with officials in all departments of the Labor Front and from a perusal of innumerable Strength through Joy programs, circulars and announcements. Some of the individual Offices of Strength through Joy have adopted the custom of drawing up for internal use annual reports on their work and these reports which were obtained from the Offices for Sport and for Popular Education proved most useful. A brief report submitted to the Department by the American Consul General in Stuttgart on the operation of Strength through Joy in Württemberg and Hohenzollern (voluntary report mailed September 24, 1937) was very helpful at the beginning as serving as a guide.

There are enclosed a series of envelopes containing material hereinafter specified:

- Envelope A - Miscellaneous Gau Programs, Illustrated Folders, etc.
- Envelope B - Miscellaneous Photographs of Strength through Joy Activities.
- Envelope C - Photographs and Material Describing the Strength through Joy Car. (There is furnished a newly-published prospectus of the car (with English translation) which may be of particular interest in view of the attention which this car has aroused in Germany and abroad.)
- Envelope D - Publications of the International Central Bureau for Joy and Work (see Appendix 1).

*Handwritten: Berlin, August 31, 1938*

Berlin, August 31, 1938

(Personal and  
confidential)

Dear Mr. President:

I mentioned a matter to Bill Bullitt when I saw him in Paris last week end, concerning which he suggested that I write you at once, even though our War Department is already aware of the situation through reports from the Military Attaché here.

It appears that mobilization, in the old sense of the word, will no longer be in Germany a prelude to offensive action. The Army is now in a continually mobilized condition and troops can be sent on a march directly from their barracks for a given destination, junction taking place en route, so that there would be no pause for mobilization.

This means that if action is taken, in all probability we will have news of it only in reports of military movement some six or eight

The President,

The White House,

Washington, D.C.

*Handwritten: 301*

*Handwritten: ac01*

hours before military action is engaged in.

I still hope and believe that nothing of the sort will be taking place in the immediate future.

I am, my dear Mr. President,

Very respectfully,

*W. L. Wilson*

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

Page  
Summary of the

September 3, 1938.

MEMORANDUM FOR

HON. HARRY L. HOPKINS

Will you summarize the  
enclosed? Read, if you want  
to, and return for my files.

P. D. R.

1301

ad01

September 3, 1938.

Dear Hugh:-

I have not had a chance before this to thank you for that excellent report on the youth camps. I am making it the basis of a broader study from our own point of view over here.

Thank you also for the "Strength through Joy" report which I am now reading. All of this helps us in planning, even though our methods are of the democratic variety!

You are, I know, going through difficult days in Berlin but today things seem a little brighter.

My best wishes to you,

Always sincerely,

Honorable Hugh R. Wilson,  
American Embassy,  
Berlin,  
Germany.

ad 02



HARRY L. HOPKINS  
ADMINISTRATOR

WORKS PROGRESS ADMINISTRATION

WALKER-JOHNSON BUILDING  
1734 NEW YORK AVENUE NW,  
WASHINGTON, D. C.

October 18, 1938.

The President  
The White House

Dear Mr. President:

In Mr. Hopkins' absence I am writing in reply to your memorandum of September third bringing to our attention an interesting report submitted by our Embassy in Germany on the "Strength Through Joy" program in that country.

I have read this report with considerable interest and have prepared in accordance with your suggestion a memorandum commenting on it which I enclose herewith.

Sincerely yours,

*Asby Williams*  
Asby Williams  
Deputy Administrator

x652  
x198  
x198-A  
x407  
x189  
x20

ad03

## MEMORANDUM ON STRENGTH THROUGH JOY REPORT

### Summary:

This report describes the activities of the German organization, Strength through Joy. This is the recreational branch of the Labor Front, Nazi substitute for independent labor unions, and includes twenty million workers.

This organization operates in six major fields:

1. The promotion of cheap excursions varying from day trips to ocean cruises, including the construction and operation of ocean liners and excursion boats.
2. The promotion of better working conditions and recreational facilities in private industrial plants through the voluntary cooperation of plant owners.
3. The promotion of sports including the construction of facilities, the organization of competitions, and instruction.
4. The furnishing of inexpensive tickets to theaters, concerts, festivals etc., the actual conduct of such activities, and the promotion of leisure time participation in the arts by workers.
5. Promotion of popular educational work for workers in all fields including Nazi indoctrination.
6. The development of a low price automobile.

### Comment:

The activities described in this report are, for the most part, in themselves desirable and many of them are a part of our own leisure time program as carried on through federal, local and private agencies and more particularly through the NPA recreational projects in this country. It is the motivation, method, and goal that is different. Here are a few of the more obvious differences:

Motivation Their leisure time activities are intended to compensate workers for low wages and divert them from any effort to increase them. Ours are intended to assist workers to realize their own potentialities and so become aware of their conditions and of their own capacity as citizens and workers in a democracy to improve them.

Control Their program is imposed from above on an authoritarian basis with no par-

ticipation in management or in the determination of policy. In our program every effort is made to secure the widest possible participation through sponsorship, community councils, and through cooperative arrangements with independent organizations such as trade unions.

Social Implications Their program is based on a conception of class alignment fundamental to the Nazi philosophy which compensates through the theory of racial and national unity and superiority for the suppression of working class interests as recognized in a democracy.

The class character of the Strength through Joy program is emphasized by the exclusion of Jews, the limitation of its benefits to lower income groups, and the payment of membership dues in proportion to income. In our program every effort is made to emphasize the democratic principle that all individuals are entitled to public benefits, at the same time imposing no barriers to the recognition of the special interests of working people and their right to promote those interests through organization or other means.

Conclusion:

Disagreement with the fundamental philosophy of National Socialism should not blind us to the interesting aspects of their activities in the recreational field. It should be possible to adapt what is good in their leisure time program to our own democratic institutions without confusion of purpose, so long as the fundamental distinctions outlined above are clearly recognized. Actually, most of their activities have been simultaneously developed in this country, without dominant stress on centralized control and standardized practices.

ad05

Does this part  
file as pending?  
G. yes

8/31/58

FOR CABINET MEETING FRIDAY

(VERY CONFIDENTIAL)

1301

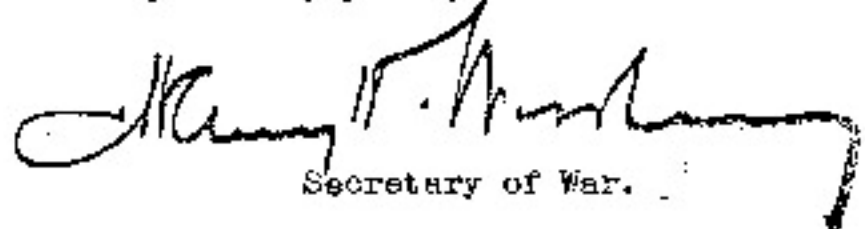
WAR DEPARTMENT  
WASHINGTON

105. 10/10/38  
2-10-38  
September 3, 1938.

My dear Mr. President:

Herewith is the letter from the Ambassador  
to Germany which you gave me yesterday. I have made a  
copy which I am retaining, and the matter will be kept  
confidential.

Respectfully yours,



Secretary of War.

The President,

The White House.

encl.

ac02

Berlin, July 11, 1938.

~~(Strictly confidential)~~

Dear Mr. President:

During the last few weeks I have had a number of talks with the Military Attaché, and especially with the Air Attaché, concerning German air production. I have also had talks with Mr. Glen Martin, Mr. J. H. Kindelberger and other American manufacturers and experts.

The conclusions reached from these talks are startling to any one used to thinking that France, England and the United States, especially the United States, held at least a small margin of superiority in the air over Germany. The facts are that Germany in the short time since throwing off the restrictions applicable to production of military aircraft, has produced an air arm second to none in numbers and quality of first line fighting airplanes. The

German

The President,

The White House,

Washington.

German aircraft factories are now producing between six and seven thousand airplanes of all types annually, but their potential production is not less than seventeen thousand a year, without including additional factories.

These revelations are so startling to American visitors who know something about our own industry that at first they find it hard to believe and to grasp, but they go away convinced of the truth of what I have said.

It is difficult indeed for the officers here to carry conviction through the written word as to the magnitude of this affair, its quality, and above all the rapidity and ease with which orders are placed, prototypes furnished and production of new types begun. The very difficulty with which the officers can carry conviction to our Army and Navy on these matters leads me to believe that it might be highly important for high authorities in the Air Force, accompanied by the necessary technicians, to come over and look at this situation.

Our officers here have the best relationship with the German Air Force and producers. The Germans have been consistently willing to show our people about and give them the widest kind of knowledge. I firmly believe that we should take advantage of this and send



some people who are of sufficient influence to carry conviction when they get home. Not only would there be advantage from the technical point of view in these gentlemen seeing this organization, but the great advantage would lie in the methods of placing and carrying through orders which might be readily adapted to our own needs in our war preparations.

My excuse for writing you direct on a matter of this kind is your well known deep interest in the state of our military organizations and my belief that this production in Germany is of so much greater importance to the world than is fully realized at home.

I am, my dear Mr. President,

Respectfully yours,

Hyd R Wilson

ae05

*Hugh Wilson - 1938*

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE  
WASHINGTON

September 30, 1938.

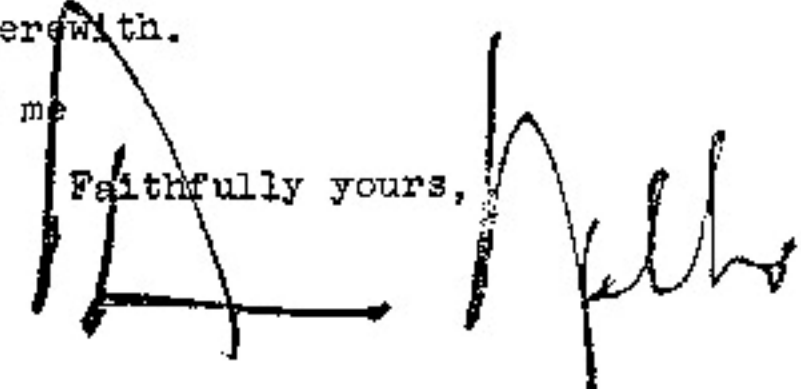
*File  
Personal &  
Confidential*

My dear Mr. President:

I have just received a personal letter  
from Hugh Wilson which I think will be of  
interest to you and I am therefore enclos-  
ing a copy herewith.

Believe me

Faithfully yours,



The President,

The White House.

x 20  
x 346  
x 198

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COPY

EMBASSY OF THE  
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

(Personal)

Berlin, August 14, 1938

Dear Sumner:

While I was in Nuremberg I had a talk with the Argentine Ambassador, Labougle, who told me of a conversation that I think will interest you.

Labougle was seated next to the German Ambassador to Argentina at a luncheon given by von Ribbentrop in Nuremberg. During the course of the luncheon the German Ambassador stated that it was a great pity that the Argentine Government had changed its attitude to the extent which it had in relation to the activities of the German colony in the Argentine. Labougle replied that the Ambassador ought to understand why this attitude had been changed, as his Government had only recently become conversant with the extent to which the German Government was trying to impregnate Germans abroad with Nazi ideals, and even to the extent of proselyting for those ideals on Argentine territory.

The German Ambassador complained bitterly about the influence of the United States, which he said was increasing and increasingly hostile to all other nations. Labougle replied that it was certainly true that American influence was increasing, but that this was due to the good neighbor policy that had been adopted by Mr. Roosevelt, and which the United States had practiced for the past six years. There was no longer any conflict between the states of Latin America and the United States and Labougle felt, and so informed the Ambassador, that on the contrary there was unity of interest.

The German Ambassador then complained about the unfair practices of the United States in commercial matters; how the United States Chamber of Commerce in Buenos Aires had tried to oust German influence, and how our diplomatic representatives had backed up these

The Honorable  
Sumner Welles,  
Under Secretary of State,  
Washington, D. C.

efforts. Labougle replied that the commercial side was another view of the picture, that the Germans practiced dumping and other things that were generally considered "unfair practices in trade". However, Labougle continued, the United States had never attempted to utilize their commercial advantages as a means of spreading political theories and this was a policy of the German Government which the Argentine could not tolerate. Labougle states that he continued by warning the German Ambassador that if they followed their present practice among the states of Latin America they would encounter a reaction which would be lamentable for German trade and German culture in these lands.

This ends the account of the interview. Labougle said to me further that for five years he had been warning his Government about what the Germans were trying to get at in the German colonies residing abroad, and it was only recently his Government had become awake to the danger. He was apprehensive of the whole movement, in view of the apparently uninterrupted line of successes of Germany, and feared that it might give encouragement in the following up of their proselyting ideas in a still more active form.

I write this letter not knowing whether you have yet returned from your vacation. If so, I hope it has done you no end of good and that you get back to your desk full of vigor and health.

Yours, as ever,

HUGH R. WILSON

6103

*file  
personal*

DEPARTMENT OF STATE  
WASHINGTON

November 29, 1938.

My dear Mr. President:

I wanted to write you a line to thank you for the very good time that we had at Warm Springs. It was charming of you to receive me so hospitably and I enjoyed every minute of my stay. With very many thanks,

Very respectfully,

*H. R. [Signature]*

The President,

Warm Springs, Georgia.

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*file*  
*print*

TSF  
Germany: 12/1/38

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE  
WASHINGTON

April 22, 1938

My dear Mr. President:

I believe you will be interested in this memorandum of Hugh Wilson's conversation with Goebbels which took place on March 22.

Believe me

Faithfully yours,

*A. L. Kelly*

Enclosure:

Memorandum of  
conversation.

The President,

The White House.

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TSE: Germany: LHM

Enclosure No. 1 to despatch  
No. 44, dated March 23/38  
from the American Embassy,  
Berlin, Germany.

MEMORANDUM OF THE CONVERSATION WITH  
REICH MINISTER OF PROPAGANDA DR. GOEBBELS.

3-24-38

Dr. Goebbels received me in his office at the Reichs  
Propaganda Ministerium at 1:00 o'clock on March 22.

He began the conversation by stating that he was  
very glad to meet me, as he had waited for a consider-  
able period to talk over matters with an American  
representative, that he was not at all satisfied with  
the press relations between the two countries. He  
said that he thoroughly understood the limitations  
upon the activity of our Government in its relations  
with the free Press; that he had called in men from  
the Foreign Office who knew America, in order to learn  
about this, and that he thought he thoroughly understood.  
There was obviously little that the Government could  
do in the matter with our Press. Nevertheless it was  
lamentable that this campaign of hatred should be  
carried on. He did not in any way expect that Germany  
would escape criticism, that it would escape misunder-  
standing.- indeed, it was inconceivable to him that  
writers in America should be sympathetic with present-  
day Germany because of the complete contrast of method  
by which the Government was acting. What he did not  
expect and what he deeply deplored, were wilful  
misstatements of fact, and slander and libel against  
the persons of the Reich Chancellor and those immediately  
around him. He said that the person of the Führer was  
venerated by every German. Indeed, he was going to  
use a word that would astonish my foreign ears, and

any

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say that to the German there was something "heilig" about the Führer. Therefore the Germans deeply resented the personal attack upon him.

He continued by saying that he had kept out of the German Press nearly all of these attacks because he did not wish to see bitterness grow on bitterness and attack upon attack. The result of such tactics could only be a reiterated embittering of the situation, which might even be a latent cause of war. In any case, it was inconceivable that there could be any improvement in our cultural or economic relations until the press hatred was abated. To bring about this abatement was part of the program for a better general world understanding. He had kept out of attack, in spite of the personal temptation to retaliate in kind, especially on the slanderous attacks upon the person of the Führer, his designation as "bandit" and "robber," even when these attacks were directed against a man of the most unquestionable character and honesty of purpose. He said I was new in Germany, but he was sure that in the coming months I would have frequent opportunity to talk with and know the Führer, and I could not but be impressed with the singleness of purpose and the undeviating honesty of the man's character.

He said again he was glad to have this opportunity to talk matters over with me, because many people in Germany felt that relations with America were so bad through the Press hatred that there was no use trying to do anything about it. But he was not one of those and such a point of view was to him a stultifying attitude.

attitude. He thought there were possibilities of making it better and believed that if we could work with some measure of confidence we could bring about an improved relationship.

I replied that before leaving Washington I had talked to Dieckhoff and we had analysed together those things which stood in the way of better relationships between the United States and Germany; that in respect to one of our difficulties I had been happy to see shortly after my arrival that orders had been given that German citizens should not enter organizations in America, such as the America-Deutsch Bund, and analogous institutions. I said that I had received a letter from the Secretary by which I was informed that the Secretary had expressed to Dieckhoff his satisfaction over this matter. I believed that this step the Germans had taken could not fail to have a good effect.

I then said there was no use in blinking difficulties and the Minister's frankness encouraged me in responding with equal frankness. The most crucial thing that stood between any betterment of our present relationship was the Jewish question. Thus if we were to work for better relationships we could not expect immediate results. Hatreds so deep as those which existed in my country on this question could not be mitigated in weeks or even months. It was a matter of years before such hatreds would lessen or be forgotten, and then only if new incidents did not give fresh fuel to the flames. I said that he was a politician

politician and that I was a diplomat, and we were capable of saying, each one of us, that what took place within Germany was a matter for Germany and what took place within America was a matter for Americans. Indeed, I should be the first to contest that what took place within America concerned other people. Nevertheless it could not be expected that such objectivity would be felt by the mass of our population or by the writers.

Here Goebbels broke in and said that he had been a writer himself and he knew that every writer must show himself a better general than the commander-in-chief, a better painter than an artist, a better musician than an orchestra director, and, above all, a better politician than the chief of any country. This weakness on the part of writers was understandable and natural.

I replied that I had talked at considerable length with the American representatives here and that I felt that by and large they were a serious group of men trying to tell the truth as they saw it, but that after all the Minister must not forget that they were seeing it through American eyes and they were judging it from an American background.

Dr. Goebbels agreed with my estimate of the American correspondents and said that in respect to them he would never take stringent action against an American correspondent without talking over first with me what he intended to do and getting my views on the subject. I thanked him for this declaration

and

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and said that I felt, as he did, that the way to avoid difficulties was to discuss them frankly before action and that I welcomed therefore what he had just said.

I continued on the matter of general relationships by saying that I had been much struck by noticing that it was much harder for the American people to be indifferent to what took place within Germany than it was even for the citizen of France or England, nations which had borne the brunt of the War. I felt that this arose from that Freudian complex by which deep affection which is shattered turns inevitably to hatred and not to indifference. Americans of my age and generation had been accustomed to see the best intellectuals in our country go to Germany for education in medicine, technical matters, arts, and so on; that thousands of houses, among them mine, had had German girls as governesses for the children, that ten thousands of families had German relatives. Thus the bonds between the two lands went so deep that we could not regard what happened in Germany with indifference. I said, if Dr. Goebbels wished to prove these relationships to his own satisfaction, he had only to summon a dozen of his collaborators and ask them each of the relationship they had with America. He was almost certain to find in every case that each of them had a cousin, a brother, an uncle, or some branch of his family established in our country in the past 100 years. The War had largely shattered this feeling of close contact and affection for Germany. In the

years

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years succeeding the War much advance had been made in rebuilding this relationship, but it had again been shattered, primarily - I regretted to have to raise it again - by the Jewish question.

The Minister said that this was an entirely new and interesting point of view. Nevertheless it was startling to him to find the lack of comprehension of what was going on in Germany on the part of American travellers; that over and over again Americans with whom he talked had been astonished and said so when they saw the economic conditions of Germany, the normal life of its people and their satisfaction. It was unhappy that there was so little understanding on the part of the Americans for what took place in this land. I replied that I agreed with him that there was a large measure of misunderstanding and that I myself, although I had tried to study about Germany before I came, had learned a great deal since my arrival. However, I wanted to emphasize that the understanding between the countries must be mutual if it is to be of any use, and that the misunderstanding and ignorance in respect of my land in Germany was just as striking to an American as the misunderstanding of my people when they came here about Germany. I knew how beset were all public men in this country, how busy they were, nevertheless I hoped that they would find time to try to see what my country was driving at and what my President and Secretary of State were trying to accomplish.

Dr.

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Dr. Goebbels said that he hoped it would some time become possible for responsible American Government officials to show at least their disapproval of the publication of lies. He pointed out that a question had been asked in the House of Commons at London about a report of 30,000 Germans landing to help Franco and the Prime Minister had replied that their reports were to the effect that there was not a word of truth in these rumors. Dr. Goebbels said that the German officials felt profoundly grateful for this statement of Chamberlain's, as it was a real indication that he was trying to better relations between the two countries.

In conclusion Dr. Goebbels reiterated his statement about talking over with me in advance any radical action respecting our press representatives and begged me to come to him freely when I wanted to talk over any matter. In return I told him that I hoped these relations could be bettered, that unless I cherished this hope I would not have come here, but that I feared that we had a difficult road in front of us and one which would take long and patient labor, if it could be achieved at all.

R.H.W.

Berlin, March 22, 1939.

RHW/hu





PSE

Germany; Wilson

Berlin, March 3, 1938

Dear Mr. President:

I have borne in mind your suggestion that when I met Hitler you would like to have me write you a letter about it. This I now set out to do, although the principal impression I carry away is the lack of drama in this exceedingly dramatic figure.

The protocol of presentation in Berlin is quite rigid. As I approached the President's House in the first car, followed by the staff in other cars, and accompanied by the Chief of Protocol, a detachment of soldiers bearing the regimental bell standard came to present arms, bugles sounded and the band began to play. I took the salute on the steps of the Palace, and we were then ushered into a large waiting room.

As I sat there I remembered the last time

I

The President,

The White House,

Washington.

C02

I had visited the Palace when Ebert, a saddlemaker, was President, and how Ellis Dresel and I had been ushered directly into his workroom, where we munched black bread and drank beer while discussing matters with Ebert. This nation has certainly gone through kaleidoscopic changes in seventeen years.

Promptly at twelve the doors were thrown open and I was led into the room where Hitler was standing. Behind him, in a solemn row, were von Mackensen, von Ribbentrop and Keissner. Behind them again were several aides, among them Captain Wiedemann, who has recently been in Washington.

I read my speech and Hitler read his, whereupon he led me to a sofa behind a table. He sat on my left, then came von Ribbentrop, then Keissner, then von Mackensen. During the entire conversation the faces of the last three gentlemen never changed in expression, and Hitler and I carried on a conversation carefully listened to by three totally unresponsive and non-participating presences. Their unbroken gravity was such that it occurred to me that the scene might be reproduced if you, Mr. President, should receive a foreign representative in the

presence

03

presence of three Sumner Welles.

As you can imagine from these surroundings, the conversation did not attain any degree of informality, I am not certain as to how the Chancellor receives others, but I should say it had been planned to hold these proceedings on a strictly formal basis.

The Chancellor began by saying that he was very glad to meet me, as he thought it peculiarly happy that a man who already knew Germany had been sent here, a man who already spoke his language and could understand his people. He then paid me some compliments on my knowledge of German, of which he had not yet heard me speak more than a sentence.

I replied, in equally complimentary phrases, that it was a moment of great interest to me to meet a man who had pulled his people from moral and economic despair into the state of pride and evident prosperity which they now enjoyed. Hitler said that it was true that when the National Socialist Party had come in the people were in a state of despair. Everything had broken down through the reparations, debts, trade barriers, and finally the world financial havoc. Unemployment was of staggering proportions. The

National

004

National Socialist Party had accomplished some things of which he was proud. They had brought their nation to a point where unemployment was unknown, indeed they were suffering now from the contrary factor - a shortage of trained workmen. I remarked here that of the two it was certainly better for a nation to suffer from shortage of labor than from unemployment. Hitler continued and said they had not done everything they had hoped with their people, that there were many and difficult things still to do for them, but that they had, within Germany, restored confidence and eliminated the fear of Bolshevism, so the people could work in peace and freedom. I said that I hoped the day would soon come when all Europe could work in peace and freedom and without worrying about political matters and the threats to their peace.

Hitler then said that he had watched with interest the methods which you, Mr. President, have been attempting to adopt for the United States in facing some of the problems which were similar to the problems which he had faced when he assumed office. I said that in my short stay in Germany I had already noticed the similarity of some of the economic problems

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problems with which you were attempting to grapple, and those which he had attacked, and in some cases solved. I added that you were very much interested in certain phases of the sociological effort, notably for the youth and workmen, which is being made in Germany, and that one of my first tasks would be to report to you on how these were being carried out.

... Hitler then rose and said that he was at my disposition for matters affecting the relations between our two countries. He wished me welcome and then accompanied me to the next room where I presented my staff to him.

He was clad, as I was, in a dress suit, and wore only one Order, the Iron Cross. He is a more healthy looking man than I had anticipated, more solid, more erect, the complexion is pale, but there is more character in the face than I had anticipated from photographs. He speaks with a strong Austrian accent, but was quite easy to follow. He is a man who does not look at you steadily but gives you an occasional glance as he talks. His hands are fine, - artistic. In our conversation, at least, he was restrained and made no gestures of any kind. I had met and had a

talk

talk with Mussolini, and felt the astonishing charm of that man, as well as a vivid impression of force. I remember, when leaving Mussolini, I wished that I could invite him out to dinner and sit over a beer and talk things over with him. I had no such desire on leaving Hitler. If charm there was it lay in simplicity and directness of utterance, and a certain unwillingness, even after my compliment, to assume for himself the credit for the work which is being done.

These two weeks have been intensely interesting - and not the least interesting, in spite of the rather colorless conversation, was this talk with Hitler. The very negative nature of my impressions is surprising. I know I shall find this work of deep interest. It may often be unpleasant and difficult. I don't think it will ever be boring. I am deeply indebted to you, as I have told you before, for the opportunity of trying it out.

Very respectfully,

*Hy R Wilson*

CA

This telegram must be closely paraphrased before being communicated to anyone (C)

BERLIN (PART AIR)

Dated April 29, 1938

Rec'd 9:50 a.m. May 1, 1938.

Secretary of State,

Washington.

212, April 29, 10 p.m.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~. In a conversation last night Goering raised the matter of helium. He spoke with deep emotion and bluntness. He said that every German felt that after the Hindenburg disaster and the engagement to permit the sale and export of helium which had been consented to, the reversal of policy could only mean deliberate unfriendliness on the part of the American Government. Relations between Germany and the United States had been brought to the lowest possible point and this over a matter of minor importance to both nations. He said "I cannot understand what leads a nation to earn the enmity of another over such a little thing". He declared to me with considerable solemnity that as chief of the air service he gave his word of honor that the helium would not be used for war purposes, indeed it would be too stupid to contemplate putting an airship into war service which could be shot down so readily. Germany, however, could not accept a control of its word of the honor. If it was impossible to get helium the German people would not forget America's attitude but it would not give up thereby the use of airships and would continue their old hydrogen.

WILSON

TWC CA

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confidential*

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Berlin, May 2, 1938

Dear Mr. President:

I have had another interview in which I think you may be interested. I called on General Goring, both to get an opportunity to know the man and because he was the best man before whom to lay the question of American citizens in Vienna.

You know his appearance. It is a mobile face of an actor, with a gray complexion and a look of unhealthiness about it. The man is almost abnormal in the fatness of his figure built upon a powerful though rather short frame. The cartoonists of the world have made merry over his uniforms and medals, which he wears even on the most unofficial occasions. The cartoonists and writers have made jokes over this man, but however much fun has been poked at him, let no one deceive himself, this is a person. I got the impression of a man of iron will, ruthless determination, brutal frankness, and underneath it a certain likableness,

The President,

The White House,  
Washington.

*202*

likableness, in spite of these far from endearing qualities. The vividness of the impact of his personality is in striking contrast with the soberness of the impact upon a visitor of the personality of Hitler.

After discussion of the situation in Vienna, during the course of which I had said that I knew him by reputation to be a man who loved direct speech, and in which I had done some very direct talking, he said that he in his turn was going to do some direct talking about HELIUM. He certainly did.

I have sent a telegram to the Department of a part of what he said about the helium matter. I did not, however, want to put into that kind of a paper my impression of the depth of his resentment, the force of the anger which he was holding in control while he spoke to me, and the really formidable nature of our conversation, even though, as I say, we neither of us raised our voices or lost our tempers. This man really believes that America must be counted among the enemies of Germany. He says that they have controlled their press here in spite of continuous and bitter provocation from the American press. He said, so discouraged were many of his friends over the relations with

with America that, speaking in strictest confidence, they had been urging him to make trouble in America in retaliation through incitement of the German population. He had not permitted this, and didn't intend to permit it, and, indeed, recognized the folly of interference in a country so remote, but that I had evidence in what he told me of the resentment of the people around him against my country.

I saw at once that this was going to be a conversation in which I had one of two alternatives, either to lose my temper and begin to shout, or quietly and dryly to make brief replies and keep the affair on a footing where I could deal with him again when his temper had changed. I chose the latter course, and in reply to what he said above I merely remarked that such a policy was obviously shortsighted and I was glad that the Fieldmarshal himself recognized it.

I am not sending this as a memorandum of conversation, but merely to give you an impression of one of the foremost figures here with which I have to deal, and to give you an impression of the depth of feeling which has been caused by this helium incident, a feeling far out of proportion to the importance

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importance of the helium to their industry or national life, but a feeling aroused by their belief that we are falling down on an agreement which we have undertaken with them and are casting doubt upon their national honor.

In striking contrast to this conversation was one which I had a day later with Dr. Schacht. Schacht asked me to list the reasons for the intensity of the animosity being shown by the American people towards Germany. I did so very bluntly. Schacht said, "You have put the Jewish question first. Does that mean that in your opinion this is the most important problem in our relationship?" I replied that I believed this was so. Schacht then said: "How would it be if we guaranteed to every Jew the integrity of his property, made them leave the country, but allowed them to withdraw their property in its entirety over a period of years?" I replied that it was my personal opinion that this would do a lot to mitigate the hostility. Schacht nodded his head and said, "Well, we'll see."

I am, my dear Mr. President,

Very respectfully yours,

*Hugh Wilson*

Ref  
Germany: Wilson

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

June 18, 1938.

MEMORANDUM FOR

THE SECRETARY OF STATE

Will you speak to me  
about this at your convenience?

F. D. R.

Letter of June 3, 1938 from Ambassador  
Hugh R. Wilson in re protest against  
the decree making obligatory the  
registration of all property held by  
Jews, even when those Jews are  
foreigners.

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THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

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should clearly find it impossible to attend. It is true that Ambassadors in Washington often go to party conventions but they go without invitation from the President, the Secretary of State or even the Chairman of the national party. They go merely as voluntary spectators looking for fun or fireworks, or because it is socially "the thing to do." In any of these cases they go in their private capacities and not as Ambassadors.

What do you think I should reply?

F. D. R.

Letter from Hugh R. Wilson, Berlin.

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*Hugh Wilson - 1938*

June 10, 1938.

My dear Hugh:

The question raised in your letter to me of May 12 is an important one. If the Nazi Party Congress in Nuremberg can be properly regarded as merely a political party meeting, such as the Democratic or Republican National Conventions in the United States, it seems quite clear that you should not attend the meeting.

However, the State Department tells me that last September the formal invitation to the diplomatic corps in Berlin to attend the Nazi Party Congress in Nuremberg was issued by the Chancellor of the German Reich and was transmitted through the German Foreign Office, and that, with the exception of four chiefs of mission (of whom only two failed to attend because of political considerations), all of the chiefs of mission were present. I am further informed that for internal purposes the Nazi Party and the State in Germany are one by virtue of the law of December 1, 1933, which provides that "the National-Socialist Labor Party has become the organ of the State policy and is indissolubly united with the State".

In view of these facts, it would seem to be definitely established that the Nazi Party Congress is an official Government celebration. If you coincide in this interpretation and if you are officially invited, I think you should attend.

I think you are doing very well in very difficult times.

Believe me

Yours very sincerely,

The Honorable  
Hugh Wilson,  
American Ambassador,  
Berlin.

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DEPARTMENT OF STATE  
WASHINGTON

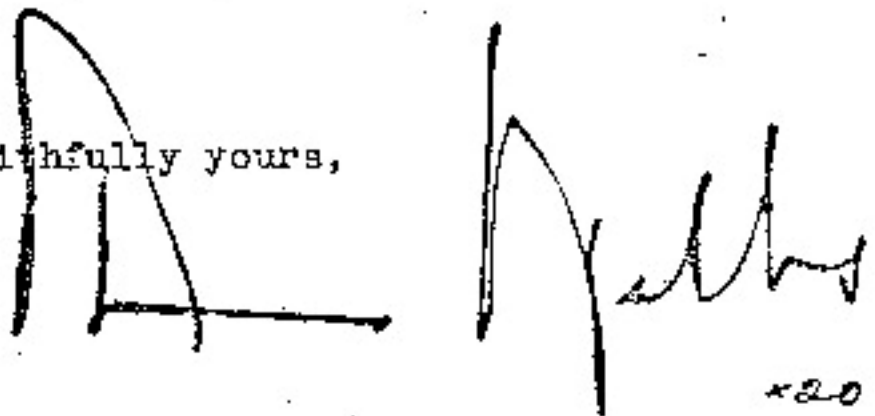
June 10, 1938.

My dear Mr. President:

In accordance with the request contained in your memorandum to me of June 8, I am sending you herewith a suggested letter for you to send to Hugh Wilson in response to his letter to you of May 12 last.

Believe me

Faithfully yours,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to be 'A. H. H.' with a large, stylized initial 'A'. To the right of the signature are the initials 'x20'.

The President,  
The White House.

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THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

June 8, 1938.

MEMORANDUM FOR  
THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE

Will you be good enough to  
prepare the reply?

F. D. R.

Letter from Hon. Hugh Wilson, Embassy of  
the United States of America, Berlin,  
Germany, 5/12/38, and letter from  
Mr. Sumner Welles, State Dept., 6/7/38.  
(Copy of Mr. Welles' letter retained in  
our files. In re attendance of our  
Ambassador at the Nuremberg Party Rally.

A. C.

x198

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June 7, 1938.

My dear Mr. President:

With reference to your memorandum of June 3 with which you sent me a letter you had received from Hugh Wilson under date of May 12, the Secretary and I are entirely in accord with the views expressed in your memorandum.

You say in the first paragraph of your memorandum, "The first question for determination is this: Is the Nuremberg Party Rally an official government celebration or a Party Convention? If the answer is that it is the first, our Ambassador can and should attend."

In determining the question whether the Nuremberg Party Rally is an official government celebration, the following facts appear to be established. Last September the formal invitation to the Diplomatic Corps in Berlin to attend the Nazi Party Congress in Nuremberg was issued by the Chancellor of the German Reich and transmitted through the German Foreign Office. As a matter of interest in this connection, the conference

The President,

The White House.

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was attended by all chiefs of mission excepting the Nuncio, the Soviet Ambassador, the Norwegian Minister (due to difficulties over the awarding of the Nobel Prize in 1936), and the Peruvian Minister (due to the Minister's illness).

For internal purposes the Nazi Party and the State in Germany are one by virtue of a law of December 1, 1933, which provides that "the National-Socialist Labor Party has become the organ of the State policy and is indissolubly united with the State".

In view of these facts, it would seem to be the case that the Nazi Party Congress in Nuremberg is actually an official government celebration and is so held by the present German Government.

Do you wish us to draft a suggested letter for you to send to Hugh Wilson in reply to his letter of May 12, or do you want to dictate personally the instructions you wish to send him?

Believe me

Faithfully yours,

Enclosure:

From Hugh R. Wilson,  
May 12, 1938.

605

Berlin, May 12, 1938

Dear Mr. President:

The question of my attendance at the Nuremberg Party Rally early in September has been giving me some thought. As you remember, Mr. Dodd never attended, but the Chargé d'Affaires, Mr. Gilbert, attended last year in Mr. Dodd's absence; also last year, for the first time, the French and British Ambassadors attended. I should personally like to attend and would not consider myself any the less a firm believer in democracy for looking upon the evidences of an autocracy. It would also be a good opportunity to get to know a lot of men who are not very accessible in the Capital. On the other hand I realize that my presence might be embarrassing to you, if I were subject to attack in the American press for attending the rally.

My

The President,

The White House,  
Washington.

My boy from Yale spends the summer with us and I could have a good excuse for sailing home with him about the 1st of September if you think it advisable to miss the rally. I am writing thus early about it because of the difficulty of getting accommodation on boats at that time of year. If you see no particular objection to my attending the rally I shall not visit the United States until perhaps late in November.

I should appreciate it very much if you could have a telegram sent to me giving me the benefit of your views on this matter.

I shall of course take up this matter with Mr. Hull in due course, but should much appreciate your advice if possible before that.

I am, my dear Mr. President,

Very respectfully yours,

*Hyatt H. Wilson*



P. F.  
[illegible]  
Berlin, August 11, 1938

Dear Mr. President:

I am transmitting herewith the report prepared by Mr. Beam of this Embassy on the movement in this country known as "Kraft durch Freude" or "Strength through Joy". While voluminous, the document is of considerable interest. I have talked to Dr. Robert Ley and other Directors of the movement, and put Mr. Beam in touch with them. He has done a lot of hard and effective work in getting up this paper.

If I can so appraise it, I should say that the main force behind this movement is the conception that in an industrial state wages can never be adequate to give to the workman that sense of pride, self-respect and comradeship which will make him cooperate effectively and enthusiastically  
in

The President,  
The White House,  
Washington.

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in the development of his country. From this conception flows the belief that the state has an obligation to make the life of the workman richer and fuller. The leaders of the movement are convinced that this is not a conception of philanthropy or charity, but one which gives tangible results in the abolition of class feeling and the growth of common purpose between employer and employee.

I am, my dear Mr. President,

Very respectfully yours,



Enclosure:

Report

PSF.

Germany: Wilson

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SUMMARY OF REPORT  
ON  
STRENGTH THROUGH JOY

General Organization

Strength through Joy is the workers' recreational organization of the German Labor Front, the national union of employers and workers which before the accession of Austria possessed about 20,000,000 members. All members, including persons belonging to a number of professional organizations affiliated with the Labor Front (which thus embraces every "Aryan" employed person in Germany), may in theory benefit from Strength through Joy, although in practice the maximum privileges are reserved for persons earning no more than RM 300 (if single) or RM 400 (if married) per month.

The organization of Strength through Joy is based on that of the Labor Front, there being a Reich bureau, 32 Gau bureaus, and innumerable smaller local offices. In each factory one of the workers serves as the agent, or point of contact between the rest of the workers and Strength through Joy activities. Strength through Joy has 38,000 paid officials and over a million other collaborators who give their services free.

The

The organization is divided functionally into the following offices, each representing a particular form of activity:

- (1) Office for Travel, Hiking, and Vacation.
- (2) Office for "Beauty of Work."
- (3) Sport Office
- (4) Office for Leisure Time.
- (5) Office for Popular Education.

#### Travel and Vacations

The Office for Travel, Hiking and Vacations arranges trips and excursions for workers at between one-fourth and one-fifth of the normal price. The classes of journeys offered and the way in which Strength through Joy deals with the railways, hotel keepers, and private enterprises is discussed in detail in the report. All German workers have the right by law to annual paid vacations and it is estimated that in 1937 Strength through Joy trips attracted over 10,000,000 participants, the shorter trips being particularly well patronized. Strength through Joy owns five ocean-going ships (including two luxurious vessels built to its specifications), charters six more, and possesses as well a vast bulk of other facilities in its own busses, vacation villas and a giant sea bath for 20,000 workers

now

now being built on Rügen.

The writer made one of the shorter trips to Helgoland and while this proved very strenuous indeed, everyone seemed to have a good time. The organization was perfect and there was no propaganda on the part of the sponsors, although it was noted that many of the "white collar" employee travellers were confirmed supporters of National Socialism.

#### Beauty of Work

Through the department called "Beauty of Work," Strength through Joy concerns itself with the workers' welfare within as well as outside of the factory. Plant owners are persuaded (sometimes under Party pressure) to improve working conditions by providing safety devices, better light in the factory, new canteens, and larger and cleaner changing rooms, by beautifying the factory's premises, and so forth. Strength through Joy claims to have been responsible for a total expenditure of over RM 600 million up to 1938 on the improvement of working conditions. In addition, a campaign is being run to beautify German villages by the removal of dump heaps and unsightly signs and by the laying out of parks and pavements, and so forth.

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### Sport

For the promotion of national health, Strength through Joy encourages the participation of workers in sport beyond the time when they might normally cease to have opportunities for bodily exercise. The organization induces factories to build or hire sport fields and arrange competitions, and itself offers numerous sport courses for which the fees vary between 20 and 40 pfennigs per one and a half-hour period of instruction. Strength through Joy employs about 1,500 instructors and it is training a large number of younger workers to serve as its own sport teachers. It is estimated that in 1937 about 8,000,000 workers took part in Strength through Joy sports.

### Leisure Time

The organization of leisure time is cared for by two offices, that for Leisure Time proper and that for Popular Educational Work.

An inquiry having shown that only a small percentage of workers had attended the theater or opera, Strength through Joy started a "back to the theater" movement. The organization owns two theaters in Berlin and one each in Breslau and Munich where plays and operas are offered at between 75 pfennigs and RM 1 (including the checking of hats and coats).

In

In addition, Strength through Joy also hires theaters and artists, arranges its own concerts, amateur broadcasts, cabaret shows, motion pictures, fashion shows, community singing, costume festivals, and so forth. It also encourages amateur musicians, painters and sculptors to form groups for the pursuit of their hobbies. In 1937 the Office sold over 29 million tickets for evening entertainments.

#### Popular Educational Work

Strength through Joy popular educational work would seem to be one-half "real learning" and one-half propaganda. As part of the first, a worker may learn foreign languages, amateur photography, may take lessons in music, painting or sculpture for the price of about 40 pfennigs per hour. As part of the latter (which is called "national political teaching"), he may listen to lectures on German history, national and world problems, all taught in the light of present-day National Socialist doctrine. The popular educational work is carried out partly within the factories themselves (with over 2 million participants in 1937) and partly in "popular educational stations" (with over a million participants). Teachers are hired at nominal sums or are recruited from Party

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and government agencies. To promote comradeship, workers are taken on inspection tours of plants other than their own. The Office also arranges art lectures and visits to museums and by thus stimulating interest and appreciation, hopes to repair the artistic deficiency with which National Socialism has often been taxed.

#### Strength through Joy Car

On the basis of a grant from the Labor Front, Strength through Joy is building a large factory for the manufacture of a "people's car" which may be bought for RM 990 by payment on an installment plan costing a minimum of RM 5 per week. Orders for the car have just now been opened. At the end of 1939, 30,000 cars will be finished and it is planned in about eight years' time from now eventually to increase production to one and a half million. While it is claimed that the car will be within the reach of the ordinary worker and will bring about an even wider motorization than in the United States, some doubt is cast upon the immediate fulfillment of this claim, it being perceived by certain competent German authorities that owing to current wage scales the car will probably first be bought by the employee and higher paid skilled-worker class group and may only find its

way.

way in the course of time down to the ordinary worker through the second-hand car market.

#### Finances

In 1937, Strength through Joy had a total income from money collected of RM 107,000,000 which, it is asserted, covered all expenses except for RM 35,000,000, this deficit being met by a subsidy from the Labor Front which has become one of the richest organizations in Germany. It is stated that the overland journeys are the only form of activity which completely meets costs, the other departments incurring in greater or less degree charges against the general budget. It is estimated roughly that last year German economy profited by a turnover of RM 120,000,000 from Strength through Joy, representing money spent on trips, travel equipment, and extras.

#### Final Evaluation

Despite the incidental costs placed upon the employers, many of the latter endorse Strength through Joy because, in their view: (1) it is a factor making for industrial peace; (2) as a result of the new demands being made on labor, some such

device

device for recreation is necessary; (3) the benefits it offers could only be afforded by an organization operating on a nation-wide scale.

With respect to private enterprises working for Strength through Joy, some hotel keepers have criticized the organization on the ground that it causes great inconvenience to their staffs and keeps away better paying tourists. On the other hand, Strength through Joy asserts that it has opened up little visited regions and has prolonged the normal tourist season by several months.

As regards the workers themselves, many seem to have held aloof from Strength through Joy in the past, believing that the trips were too strenuous and overcrowded. It seems that now a greater variety of excursions is offered to appeal to individual taste, in particular to persons desiring rest. . The long excursions are apparently still beyond the means of ordinary workers, which would seem to show that low as the prices are, and although adapted to the situation of the lower middle-classes, Strength through Joy has not yet succeeded in extending its maximum travel benefits to the ordinary worker. Various devices, such as raffles or free trips paid by the employer, do not solve the difficulty.

In conclusion, Strength through Joy has become a great national force: (1) by virtue of the money it has put into circulation; (2) by promoting

national

national unity by exchanges of visits between provincial peoples; (3) by playing a role in industrial relations; and (4) by serving as a vehicle for National Socialist propaganda, particularly in its educational work. The National Socialists claim that by giving the worker tired and tested entertainment they offer him a greater value than he would receive from a wage increase which he might spend foolishly. They also emphasize the part Strength through Joy is playing in creating a new relationship between the industrial workers and the community based on mutual benefits and responsibilities.

The success of Strength through Joy seems to be due to the Party organization and authority which facilitates its operation, and to the nature of the German masses who are gregarious and who have never been offered similar opportunities for vacation travel. A similar movement instituted in a more individualistic environment might have to be kept free from the tinge of "proletarianism."

JDB:EM

THE GERMAN WORKERS' RECREATIONAL ORGANIZATION,  
STRENGTH THROUGH JOY.

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General Introduction

The recreational organization known as Strength through Joy (Kraft durch Freude) is an institution of which National Socialist Germany is intensely proud. The organization is already known abroad for its more spectacular accomplishments such as the building of giant cruise ships for workers, but perhaps the feature which is most remarkable to anyone who has made a study of its work is the vast range and variety of its activities. In short, it may be said that there

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can hardly be anybody to whom it does not offer something of interest.

If a worker does not care for, or has not the means to pay for, the more expensive sea voyages, he may make a cheaper railway or bus excursion to the mountains or to some part of Germany he has not seen. Country people naturally choose trips to the big cities. Hiking tours are offered the most robust. A person indeed may not wish to go anywhere but may prefer instead to take advantage of the sport facilities which include lessons in golf, tennis, skiing, swimming, etc. A beneficiary of Strength through Joy is enabled to enjoy grand opera, concerts of the best state orchestras, and to attend the latest plays within a week or so after they have been put on. If he is young and ambitious he may learn, without recourse to a correspondence school, stenography, accounting, drawing, foreign languages, or other subjects that may help him in his career. The artistically inclined may be attracted by factory art exhibits, museum tours and special lectures, whereas those craving for artistic self-expression may take lessons in singing or acting, or instruction on an accordion or mouth-organ. Popular courses in German history or literature are offered and encouraged (and although these subjects are treated strictly along National Socialist political and propagandistic lines they seem to satisfy the urge toward self-education); while persons with esoteric tastes may indulge them in

courses



courses in tap-dancing, wood carving or crazy-quilt patching. Finally, if a person is so disgruntled or otiose as to have no interest in the entertainment program of Strength through Joy, he may unwittingly benefit by an improvement in working conditions in his factory, for this also is one of the subjects which falls within the sphere of the organization.

The stated purpose of Strength through Joy is to furnish the German workman with the opportunity of spending his vacations and leisure time in an enjoyable and inspiring way, thus helping him to gather strength to fulfill his work and duties cheerfully. Spokesmen for the National Socialist Party claim that it has a still deeper significance which is, namely, to introduce the worker into those fields of culture and recreation which formerly he was only privileged to view from afar as if a spectator on a fence (Zaungast). They point out that formerly a worker was wont to insult on the street persons going to the opera or on their way to play tennis, but now on the other hand he spares his words knowing that the same privileges are vouchsafed him through Strength through Joy. It is said that this institution is the embodiment of a true socialism which instead of inciting to class struggle or class feeling seeks rather to overcome it. In private conversation, Dr. Ley, the head of the Labor Front which operates Strength through Joy, has explained that

it

it is impossible for German industry to offer higher wages without harming German economy, and that therefore the National Socialist government sees its duty in offering the worker a fuller and higher real standard of living and enjoyment, which it does in Strength through Joy. At the conclusion of this report, and after a survey has been presented of its manifold activities, an evaluation will be given of the broader significance and results of Strength through Joy, particularly in relation to these statements. It is perhaps sufficient to say at this juncture that Strength through Joy is becoming an increasingly powerful sociological force which is playing an unquestioned role in the evolution of labor relationships and in the second place is promoting national political unity by indoctrinating the people with the principles of the National Socialist Party and by gradually extinguishing regional differences.

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THE PARENT ORGANIZATION, THE LABOR FRONT, AND  
THE RANGE OF BENEFICIARIES OF STRENGTH THROUGH JOY.

Strength through Joy is the recreational division of the German Labor Front, the vast national union of workers and employers which was established to supplant the separate employers' associations and labor unions dissolved in 1933. In November of that year, Dr. Ley, the leader of the Labor Front, was entrusted by Chancellor Hitler with the tasks of providing the working men with better vacations and of organizing their leisure time. Following the rapid development of the Labor Front and its extension into every factory and village in the country, it was possible to begin the operation of Strength through Joy as early as April 1934. The utility, or what might be called the mission, of Strength through Joy has in the meantime been enhanced by the fact that during the last four years the National Socialist Government has succeeded in introducing by law a system of paid vacations whereby workers and employees, according to their trade and length of service, receive vacations lasting from a week to three weeks each year.

With respect to precedents, it would appear that despite the advanced labor standards which have always prevailed in Germany, opportunities for entertainment were not made available on the same gigantic scale before the National Socialists came to power, although certain cities offered theater, opera and concerts to the worker at low prices, and although it is understood that some of the former trade unions ran educa-

tional

tional and training courses for their members, fashioned after a different pattern, however, from those now open to the public. While Strength through Joy had a model in the Italian workers' recreational organization, Dopolavoro, it appears to have far outstripped the latter in the variety and extent of its work. A comparison with the Soviet Russian recreational system is rejected by the National Socialists on the ground that this is operated by the State which chooses the workers to be favored and assumes practically the entire cost of their vacation trips.

As regards the development of Strength through Joy, its guiding genius is said to be Dr. Ley himself who in addition to his many other duties has taken the time to organize and invent ever new programs. The present head of the Strength through Joy division is Dr. Lafferentz, who has held that position for about a year.

At the end of 1937 and before Austria\* was brought into the Reich, the Labor Front possessed about 18,120,000 members, all of whom were nominally entitled to profit in some way or another from Strength through Joy. Many enterprises other than the purely industrial undertakings are incorporated in the Labor Front, the various Fach-Ämter, which correspond roughly to individual unions, including associations of retailers, merchants, hotel servants, etc. A large number of professional groups are also affiliated with the Labor Front, membership in any one of the following carrying with it also membership in the Labor Front: Reich League of German

Officials

\* The Labor Front is in the process of being built up in Austria, and Strength through Joy has already begun operating on a limited scale among the Austrian workers.

Officials, National Socialist Teachers League, National Socialist Lawyers League, Reich Doctors League, Reich Association of German Dentists, Reich Association of German Druggists, etc. Up until now the Reich Culture Chamber, with its seven subordinate chambers of music, plastic art, the theater, authors, the press, radio broadcasting and the film, has not been affiliated with the Labor Front but its individual members are entitled to participate in Strength through Joy upon individual application and against payment of a small surcharge amounting to about 30 pfennigs for each ticket. The same arrangement also applies to farm workers who are comprised in the Reichsnährstand, or Reich Agricultural Estate. The Labor Service and the armed forces were at one time associated with Strength through Joy but more recently the authorities of these bodies have decided to make their own arrangements for the recreation of the youths in their charge. As a general rule young people up to the age of 18 are not permitted to take part in Strength through Joy excursions inasmuch as the State youth organizations to which they belong have their own system of summer camps and hiking tours.

Theoretically, all members of the Labor Front, together with the affiliated groups named above, which in sum total would include every "Aryan" German man and woman engaged in a trade or profession, are entitled to participate in the activities of Strength through Joy. Whether or not the member, be he employer or worker, decides to take advantage of this

privilege

privilege, he in a sense pays for it anyway inasmuch as the membership dues which he is assessed for the Labor Front go to the general funds of that organization, which in turn pays a certain amount toward the upkeep of Strength through Joy. In view of the fact that the essential aim of Strength through Joy is to afford persons vacations and pleasures which they would not otherwise be in a position to enjoy, the maximum benefits are restricted to an income class. On the other hand there is no rigidly fixed standard in this respect, the criterion being a matter of practice which is modified slightly in accordance with divergent living conditions in various parts of the country. In Berlin, which is classed as a high cost of living district, the following have been set as the maximum income limits entitling persons to benefit from the lowest uniform Strength through Joy rates: for single persons, an income of 300 \* marks a month; for married persons, 400 marks per month; and for married couples with one child, 450 marks per month.

On the other hand, persons with higher incomes are not denied participation in Strength through Joy activity. They are admitted against payment of an additional contribution which is computed in such a manner that those whose earnings are above the maximum limit are charged 10 per cent of the

amount

\* at the official par rate  
RM 1 = \$0.4011



amount by which their income exceeds the maximum rate, plus the usual price for participation. For instance, a single person with a monthly income of 400 marks who wishes to take part in a Strength through Joy trip costing 50 marks according to schedule, would be obliged to pay 50 marks plus 10 per cent of 100 marks - the amount by which his income exceeds the maximum limit of 300 marks - or a total of 60 marks. As stated before, these schedules are not rigid and a young girl, for instance, with a secretarial job who lives at home with her family, who in turn are well-to-do, would be required to pay a surcharge even though her income did not exceed 300 marks per month. In the last analysis questions of this nature are decided by the local offices of the Labor Front.

The surplus charges are used for the purpose of giving trips gratuitously to impecunious but deserving workmen or for allowing them a subsidy towards paying for a holiday journey. In this manner the payment of an extra charge enables persons with higher incomes to take part, whereas by rigid rules of exclusion both would have to forego the benefit. Naturally, however, the great majority of the participants belong to the class whose incomes are below the maximum rates.

Individual factories adopt various policies with respect to the granting of free trips to their

workers.



workers. While some pay for a certain number of trips outright (Strength through Joy authorities estimate that last year some 60,000 trips were given altogether free), other employers insist that the impecunious worker at least pay a portion of the price. Still other factories operate what is known as a "pfennig fund." By general agreement all workers and employees contribute to a special fund odd pfennigs over the mark sum of their weekly salaries, the accumulated money going to pay for trips for a number of workers chosen each year by lot. In large factories employing over a thousand people considerable amounts are collected in this way and it is said that the workers willingly make this small sacrifice to enable their less fortunate fellows to profit from Strength through Joy.

## ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURE OF STRENGTH THROUGH JOY

Strength through Joy is a semi-autonomous division, called Gemeinschaft Kraft durch Freude, within the German Labor Front. Its supreme authority is a Reich, or national, Board composed of the heads of the various departments of Strength through Joy. Its regional structure follows that of the Labor Front which in turn reflects the regional divisions of the National Socialist Party. In each of the 32 Gaue (which composed Germany before the accession of Austria) there is a Gau Board of Strength through Joy headed by a Gauwart. The division is carried down further to the Kreis authorities (corresponding to the government administrative districts, or Kreise) and to the Ortsverwaltung, or local authorities (corresponding to the small townships or sections of large cities). The Kreis and Ortsverwaltung authorities for Strength through Joy work in the local offices of the Labor Front and, depending upon the volume of work, sometimes also perform other duties for the Labor Front. The lowest but most important units of the organization are the innumerable Betriebswarte who serve in the individual factories as the points of contact between the mass of the workers and Strength through Joy activities.

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There are 708 Kreise, or sub-districts, in the old Reich territory, and 20,326 Ortsverwaltungen. The Reich and Gau authorities are for the most part paid permanent officials, as are also certain lower officials charged with special duties. Many of the Kreis workers and most of the local helpers on the other hand serve in an honorary capacity, their work being credited to them as service rendered the Party. The Betriebswarte receive no money from Strength through Joy but inasmuch as they are at the same time the representatives of the Labor Front in their factories they are company-paid employees who devote most of their time to the affairs of the Labor Front. The number of paid officials in the Strength through Joy organization is given as 38,000 while the number of voluntary local workers, including the Betriebswarte, totals 1,122,000.

The vertical organization as described above is divided functionally into special offices, each of which deals with a particular kind and sphere of activity of Strength through Joy. The five sections may be listed as follows:

- (1) Office for Travel, Hiking and Vacation.
  - (2) Office for "Beauty of Work."
  - (3) Office for Sport.
  - (4) Office for Leisure Time.
  - (5) Office for Popular Education.
- Each of these offices has a large staff of

officials in the central headquarters of the organization in Berlin. In addition there is an office

for

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for press and propaganda matters.

The regional, or Gau, offices of Strength through Joy are subdivided into these sections. Each district, or Kreis, office has a Referent, or special official, dealing with one or more of the five listed activities. The latter in turn give instructions to, and keep in touch with, the lower Ortsverwaltung officials and the Betriebswärte in the individual factories.

Salaries of the paid permanent officials of Strength through Joy are definitely very low, the younger unmarried officials receiving, for instance, between RM 200 and RM 250 per month. One of the writer's informants, a middle-aged married official with fairly advanced rank, stated that he was paid RM 550 per month. Most of the officials are National Socialist Party members of long standing who were given permanent employment with the Party after it came to power. Despite the comparatively low salaries and the long hours of work frequently demanded of them, the great majority of these officials display a remarkable enthusiasm, particularly the younger (and less well paid) who, as has been found to be the case with many of the young Party workers, seem to be inspired with some of the Messianic zeal of their leaders.

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THE PROCEDURE OF INFORMING THE WORKERS CONCERNING  
THE VARIOUS ACTIVITIES

In its practical operation, Strength through Joy is exceedingly simple. The Gau office publishes each month, and puts on sale for either 5 or 10 pfennigs, a program of the attractions offered, listed under the section in charge of each form of activity, such as sport, leisure time, travel, etc. These programs in each case are drawn up with special reference to the financial capacity of the population of the Gau and their general preferences, personal tastes and inclinations. In vacation matters an inland or mountain Gau, for instance, would put particular emphasis upon sea voyages, while the populations of an agricultural, flat country might wish to make excursions to big cities or to the mountains. Moreover, special kinds of lectures which would prove suitable for city workers would hold no attraction for country people. Incidentally, considerable variety may be noted in the format of the various programs, those drawn up for provincial regions assuming the aspect of a kind of magazine in which skits and elementary political propaganda are interpolated, while those distributed for the more sophisticated city dwellers are much more businesslike and are restricted to the lists of attractions offered.

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After thumbing over one of the monthly programs a worker will then go to the Betriebswart of his plant and inform him that he would like to take this or that excursion, or go to a performance at the theater or opera next week. The Betriebswart will then go to the local, or Ortsverwaltung, office of Strength through Joy, will hand in his list of total applicants, and in a few days will receive the necessary tickets, or Gutscheine (certificates) which he will then distribute to the workers against payment of the necessary money. Further details of the actual operation of Strength through Joy will be brought out in the discussion of its spheres of activity, which will now be undertaken.

## THE OFFICE FOR TRAVEL, HIKING, AND VACATIONS

The planning of workers' vacations is the activity with which Strength through Joy has achieved its most spectacular success and widest renown, and consequently the office which concerns itself with these matters is the largest of all the sub-divisions. Indeed, as a travel organization Strength through Joy is perhaps only rivaled by the Canadian Pacific Railway Company in the extent of its disposition over, and ownership of, ships, hotels and transportation facilities.

### Classes of Excursions Offered

As an introduction, a list will be given of the various kinds of trips offered, illustrated in each case by a series of excursions open to a worker residing in Berlin. The list given hereunder presents only a partial picture even of the opportunities for travel afforded the Berlin worker, and to obtain an idea of the vast travel traffic of Strength through Joy, it must be realized that each of the 31 other Gau bureaus in the Reich has similar programs.

(1) Short



(1) Short Afternoon or Day Excursions by Motor Bus or Rail. Trips of this type are exceedingly popular and account for almost two-thirds of the travel business operated by Strength through Joy. They are run to a nearby spot offering something worth seeing, such as a castle, a game preserve, a Zeppelin hangar, or a ship's lock, and it is usually contrived that the buses shall stop at some place where there will be dancing or swimming or walks through the woods.

In June of this year the following trips were advertised for instance in Berlin: Saturday afternoon 1:30 - 10 p.m., "summer festival" on a river steamer, music on board, price RM 2.50. All day Sunday 9:30 a.m. - 11 p.m., by bus to the Spreewald (80 kilometers from Berlin), price RM 6, including luncheon and a boat trip on the river. Innumerable other trips of the same nature were also made.

(2) Weekend Trips By Motor Bus or Rail. Much the same as those described above, extending from Saturday afternoon until midnight Sunday. The price usually includes fare, lodging and admission fees to historical monuments, etc. From Berlin the trips may go to the Harz Mountains (RM 18.50); Thuringia and the Kyffhäuser Mountain (RM 18); a tour of provinces on the Polish border (RM 16.50); and so forth.

(3) Bus or Rail Trips with Hiking, Paddle Boat or Bicycle Tours. These excursions vary in length, sometimes taking place over the weekend

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and sometimes lasting as much as a week or ten days. The parties, comprising between 10 and 15 members, are conveyed by bus or train to a particular locality from which they start out on their tours under the direction of a guide, stopping at hotels or hostels overnight. At a certain fixed destination they are met by bus or take the train home. Participants bring their own bicycles or collapsible boats if they choose this form of excursion. The price includes incidental fares, guides' fees, and lodging. From Berlin hiking tours visit the Harz or Saxon mountains (two weeks at a price of RM 60); or Mecklenburg (two weeks for RM 50). Three-day bicycle excursions are arranged for the Spreewald or for Mecklenburg (price RM 12.50). A week's tour of the surrounding lakes by paddle boat costs RM 25.

(4) Extended Overland Excursions Lasting A Week Or More. These excursions take the worker far and wide, as is illustrated by the list of places henceforth to be given. The special trains usually leave Berlin late in the evening, the travellers sitting up all night in third class carriages until they reach their destination during the following day. There they are put up at small town inns or in private houses. All visitors to the Rhine

make

make the famous river journey by boat.

The following are some of the tours offered the Berlin worker: Upper Bavaria, 7 days, RM 41; the Mosel River district, 7 days, RM 43.50; the Rhine, 7 days, RM 40.50; East Prussia, 14 days, RM 42; a Baltic coast seaside resort, 7 days, RM 31.50; 14 days, RM 50.50; a North Sea resort, 21 days, RM 89.50; the Black Forest, 10 days, RM 52; the Austrian Tyrol, 14 days, RM 68.50; Salzburg and Zell am See, 16 days, RM 70.50.

(5) Long Sea Voyages By Strength through Joy Steamers. The extended ocean voyages of Strength through Joy have until now followed three standard itineraries: cruises to Madeira and through the Mediterranean being offered in winter, and a Norwegian cruise in summer. In season all Strength through Joy ships are employed on these journeys. During the present year, however, two special voyages have also been made: a trip on the new WILHELM GUSTLOFF (on which a limited number of workers were taken) to Gravesend to receive on board German residents in England who wished to vote in the national plebiscite of April 10; and a voyage, conveying a number of workers and officials of the Strength through Joy organization, to Rome in July for the Third World Congress on Leisure Time and Recreation.

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The following details may be given concerning the standard voyages, the prices in each instance being those which a worker from Berlin would be required to pay:

To Madeira, 16 days, RM 120.--; stop-overs of two days at Lisbon and Funchal on Madeira.

The Mediterranean cruise, 18 days, RM 150.--; touching at Genoa, Naples, Palermo, Venice (one cruise last year went as far as Tripoli), Gibraltar and Lisbon.

The Norway, or North Capes cruise, 7 days, RM 55. No landings are made after the ships leave Hamburg.

Statistical View of Strength Through Joy Travel.

There is given below a statistical survey furnished by the Office for Travel, Hiking and Vacations, regarding the sum total of its activities.

It is stated that the number of participants in Strength through Joy trips has grown successively as follows during the past four years: In 1934, 2 million participants; in 1935, 3 million; in 1936, 6 million; and in 1937, 10 million. These figures refer to participants of all kinds and include people who may have made several journeys a year. The following is the division according to income class: 30% of the participants had a monthly wage of RM 100 or less; 35%, RM 100 - RM 150; 29%, RM 150 - RM 250; and only 6%, RM 250 or more. Although no exact estimates are available, it is said that with respect to the sea voyages about 60% of the travellers belong to the employee or white-collar class, while the land excursions are made up in almost equal proportions of employees and everyday workers.

In 1937 Strength through Joy arranged 158 sea voyages, carrying in all about 150,000 passengers. During this period 137 trips, comprising 140,000 passengers, were made to Norway, 3 to Madeira, with 2,500 passengers, and 18 through the Mediterranean and to Italy, with 30,000 passengers. The Norway cruise provides for no stop-overs, but some 10

landings

landings were made on the Madeira trip, in Lisbon and Funchal, while on the Mediterranean cruise some 220 landings were made, mostly at Italian ports.

In 1937 Strength through Joy offered some 230,500 land journeys which were patronized by over 9 1/2 million travellers. About 4,500 special trains were utilized by Strength through Joy. As mentioned above, approximately 2/3 of these trips were of the short week-end variety, the other third being longer trips of a week or more. About 50,000 hiking tours, led by over 15,000 guides, were arranged with some million and a half participants. While precise figures are lacking, it is stated that about one million workers took advantage last year of the winter sport vacations arranged by the Office for Travel in collaboration with the Sport Office of Strength through Joy. As regards the Rhine journeys, last year some 400,000 workers in all made the river trip by steamer. Strength through Joy also sends several thousand workers each year on one day excursions to the Party Congress at Nuremberg as well as to the annual Harvest Festival on the Bückeberg.

In 1937 a round figure of RM 81,200,000 revenue was collected in fares and the prices charged for the excursions. While of course admitting that no exact estimate can be made, officials of the organization calculate that during last year Strength through Joy travellers enriched German economy by

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some RM 120,000,000, a figure which includes the money spent on fares, that paid to innkeepers for lodging and extras, and the miscellaneous, but in the aggregate enormous, sums spent on travel equipment, such as suitcases, hiking boots, skis, photographic apparatus, postcards, souvenirs, and so forth.

By a special agreement concluded in the fall of 1937 with the Italian recreational organization, Dopolavoro, Strength through Joy has arranged for an exchange of German-Italian vacationers. These workers, who are conveyed over the Alps in special trains containing about 400 passengers, usually only make a stay of two or three days in either country. It is learned that up to the present some 30,000 German and Italian workers on each side have taken part in these excursions.

Strength through Joy plans to expand its sea itinerary this winter to include Greece and Yugoslav ports on the Dalmatian Coast. It is noted that the British Empire press has attached considerable political interest to a rumor that a Strength through Joy excursion would be sent to the former German South African colonies. Questioned as to this report, officials of the organization stated that while some such proposal has been entertained, it has not yet reached the stage of a definite project.

Before

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Before the cancellation of the holding of the next Olympic Games in Tokyo in 1940, it had been planned to send out most of the Strength through Joy fleet on a world journey to Japan, visiting American ports en route. Another project being worked upon is the idea of employing Strength through Joy ships in off-season periods to bring back Germans in distant countries on short visits to the Fatherland. It is understood that the scheme of enabling "foreign Germans" (Auslandsdeutsche) to return to the home country is already being carried out on a limited scale in Hungary where a special Strength through Joy office is maintained in Budapest for this purpose.

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How The Worker Plans And Takes His Vacation.

The worker will find most of the trips advertised in the monthly program which he buys. Notices of the shorter excursions are usually posted from week to week on Labor Front blackboards in each factory. Should the worker foresee that he will have the opportunity and means to undertake an extended vacation, he will probably buy at the beginning of the year a large calendar program issued each January by the Gau office, listing the various trips under the dates on which they will begin, as well as their extent and all-inclusive price. In every case the worker will first make application to his Betriebswart as he does with respect to most of the other activities of the Strength through Joy organization. Should he wish to distribute over a period of time payment for one of the more expensive excursions, he may provide himself with a vacation savings book in which he will paste each week special 50 pfennig stamps bought from the local factory representative. The total sum represented by the stamps is good for any one of the activities of Strength through Joy, or may be redeemed at any time should the worker decide to spend the money otherwise.

In the case of one of the larger trips, the worker after making his reservation may attend

an "Urlaubertreffen und Wiederschenfeier" ("rally of vacationers and reunion celebration") where he will meet his future fellow travellers and will be told what to bring in the way of apparel and so forth. These evenings, which are advertised in the monthly travel programs according to the district to be visited, are held once a month in fire-engine houses or beer halls. They are not only arranged for the benefit of prospective visitors to a particular locality but also for the benefit of those who might have been there a year before and who by these evenings are enabled to renew acquaintances they made on their journey as well as to tell the prospective tourists about the trip and to give them advice. Moreover, for instance, should a delegation from Bavaria be visiting Berlin on a Strength through Joy excursion, they would be invited to attend one of these evenings held for travellers about to go to Bavaria. These meetings which thus serve as a sort of clearing house of information are usually a great success, particularly if beer is made available cheaply and in plentiful measure.

When finally ready to start on his journey, the worker receives a small booklet (Gutscheinheft) containing his railway ticket to and from his destination, a ticket for his meals in the case of a shorter trip, or a combined ticket for board and lodging should he be embarking on a longer excursion.

Travellers

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Travellers on the Strength through Joy ships touching on foreign ports receive a small sum of pocket money in foreign exchange to spend on shore. This is included in the total price of the ticket and in case of a trip to Italy this sum reaches a maximum of 100 lire. Provided with his ticket the worker will then go to the appointed meeting place or station where he will present himself to the Reiseleiter, or guide and manager of the trip, whom he may have already met at the "vacationers' rally." On each overnight train journey there is one such Reiseleiter, accompanied by a trained nurse to attend to possible incidental illnesses. On ocean voyages there are usually three or four Reiseleiter, one of whom, or more, may be women. The Reiseleiter is in charge of the excursion during the actual journey, but when the final destination is reached he hands over his group, should it be a large one, to other Reiseleiter belonging to the local Strength through Joy organization of the region visited, who, being well acquainted with the locality, are in a better position to help direct and arrange entertainments for the whole group. In general the Strength through Joy offices of the "guest Gau" attend to the care of the travellers and make up programs for their entertainment once they have arrived.

Overnight

Overnight railway journeys are made sitting up in third class carriages. While the physical discomfort of this form of travel can be readily imagined, this is to some degree mitigated by the newly indulged-in sensation of "going places" as well as in many cases by accordion players or amateur comedians among the company. Large groups are often met at their destination by a local Party band. Individuals are then directed to their living quarters in the appointed inns or private houses.

It is understood that during the earlier stages of Strength through Joy there was a tendency to plan too much for the vacationists to do, particularly immediately after the tedious railway journey. It appears that now a happy medium has been found between restful inactivity and entertainments designed to avoid possible boredom. The first day or so after arrival is given over to recuperation. Following that, easy walks may be planned to pass the day, while the evenings are enlivened by dancing, costume festivals or community singing. In certain localities, such as Bavaria or on the banks of the Mosel river, short hiking tours with a guide, or bus excursions (all planned by the local offices) are afforded, while all visitors to the Rhine make the well-known river excursion by steamer.

It is explained that practice as divorced from theory is being applied to determine the pattern of

maximum

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maximum enjoyment that can be afforded and that in this respect ever greater advances are being made in proportion to the experience being gained by the Reiseleiter. These guides, who almost uniformly serve in a voluntary capacity, are usually either officials from the central or Gau offices of Strength through Joy or veteran Labor Front factory representatives who are glad to assume the responsibilities of leadership for the sake of making the trip. The Reiseleiter of the guest Gau who take charge of the visitors after their arrival are ordinarily officials in the local office. Incidentally with respect to the relationship between the Reiseleiter and the captains of Strength through Joy steamers, it has been explained that special steps, prompted by the new National Socialist outlook of life have been taken to prevent the captains of these ships from arrogating to themselves undue authority, as many sea captains are wont to do. The head Reiseleiter is given undisputed authority over the party on board. At functions arranged when a Strength through Joy ship touches at a foreign port the head Reiseleiter assumes the role of master of ceremonies and seats the local German diplomatic representative in the place of honor at his right and the captain at his left.

The Technical Arrangement of Strength  
through Joy Excursions.

The cost of Strength through Joy trips is anywhere from a quarter to one fifth of the minimum rates which would normally be charged. The reduction offered is based upon prices charged more or less according to the following standard scale: railway travel is computed at a cost of 1 pfennig per kilometer; bus journeys at 1 1/2 pfennig per kilometer; board and lodging at RM 2.50 per day. To the actual cost of each trip is added a 10% surcharge for administrative expenses. To recapitulate, a seven-day trip of 300 kilometers, say, from Berlin to Kolberg, a Baltic coast resort, would thus break down into the following components:

300 x 1 pf. x 2, for railway fare.....	RM 6.-
7 X RM 2.50, for board and lodging.....	RM 17.50
10% of this total (RM 23.50) for administrative expenses.....	RM 2.40

Total cost of the trip..... RM 25.90

The railroad fare of 1 pfennig per kilometer represents a reduction of 75% of the standard rate of 4 pfennigs per kilometer per person third class. In view of the fact that no detailed budget for the State railways is published, it is impossible to tell what effect these journeys may have upon their economy. Oral inquiry made of officials of the Reich Railways has elicited the information that the fare charged is sufficient to meet the actual operating expenses for these



these trips. It is pointed out that Strength through Joy trains are always full; that old rolling stock is often used; and that a saving in train personnel, in particular conductors, is effected in the fact that the excursions are run and managed by Labor Front officials. It was intimated that the fare probably did not meet the capital and overhead charges involved but that this factor was adjusted from a "social" point of view in the general budget of the Reich Railways and was covered by the income from more profitable forms of traffic.

It is the avowed purpose of the Strength through Joy to avoid prejudicing financially private enterprises by its activities. Abhorrence of an economic vacuum and the offer of a quick and steady turnover are the principles, it is claimed, which have rendered its work feasible and successful. In practice this means that if Strength through Joy needs autobusses for its excursions, it will approach a private owner and will ask him to hire, for a reduced price which will give him a small margin of profit, those busses which would otherwise remain idle. The same procedure is followed in the rent of hotel accommodations. It is stated that the offer of a specific number of guests for a determined period is especially attractive to inn keepers who

may

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may be off the beaten track or whose tourist seasons may have ended. While the standard rate of RM 2.50 per day will not assure them much profit, they may nevertheless count on having their houses full and their staffs employed for these periods and may moreover make money out of extras such as beer, wine and cigars, for which their guests must pay over and above the stipulated inclusive price. In the smaller places which Strength Through Joy frequents, prices are low and it is said that for the rate of RM 2.50 a day, food can be obtained superior to that to which many city workers are accustomed, more particularly as their tastes are modest and many of them are in the habit of even spending less than this amount at home.

The hiring of accommodations and dealing with innkeepers is done on a local basis, that is to say, if the Berlin Gau office wishes to send excursionists to a small town in Bavaria, it will call upon the Strength Through Joy representative in or near that town to make the necessary arrangements. It is held that this plan minimizes risks which might befall organizers unacquainted with a particular locality and it is pointed out that it has the additional advantage of saving time in communication between guests and hotel and inn-keepers.

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The system of financing inter-Gau travel is moreover claimed to be particularly efficient. In the case of an excursion from Berlin to Hamburg, the Berlin Gau will not pay the Hamburg office directly, but will turn over the money collected from the excursionists to the central treasury. After the visitors have left, the Hamburg Gau will submit to the treasury a bill for the money it has put out for lodging and other expenses and will eventually receive payment from the treasury, which at the same time will reimburse the railways for their share of the costs of the excursion.

It is stated that the overland excursions by bus or rail are the only form of Strength through Joy activities which completely meet expenses from the income received from participants. There is probably little reason to doubt this statement if actual running expenses are counted apart from overhead charges. These overhead costs bulk large in the activities and projects which will now be discussed.

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Strength Through Joy's Ownership  
of Travel Facilities.

With a view to controlling prices, Strength through Joy to an ever greater degree is acquiring and building up its own travel facilities. It is claimed that it will not thereby compete with private enterprise inasmuch as Strength through Joy caters to a class of public different from that served by the ordinary travel agencies, and furthermore, that its volume of business is so great that in any case the organization will continue as heretofore to resort to public hire as well.

In the larger cities Strength through Joy is establishing its own fleets of autobuses. It also has about ten of its own Erholungsheime, or villas, in various scenic parts of Germany (the largest of them at Ruhpolding in Bavaria), at which workers may pass extended vacations at somewhat lower prices than the standard rate of RM 2.50 a day charged in hotels or private houses. Strength through Joy has spent RM 60,000 for the construction of an experimental sleeping car especially adapted to relieve the tedium of the longer overnight journeys. The car contains 90 beds and when eventually produced in larger numbers for the order of the Strength through Joy organization, will be used to make up trains containing as many as 1,500 voyagers at a time. With a view to saving money, ordinary freight

engines

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engines of the Reich Railways will be employed to haul these trains.

To deal with some of the larger properties, Strength through Joy plans to build four gigantic seaside resorts for workers on the Baltic coast. One of these, designed to accommodate 20,000 guests, is already under construction on the island of Rügen and should be completed some time next year or early in 1940. Extending in a continuous line about 5 kilometers, or 3 miles, along the shore, the buildings will be divided into 10 blocks, each containing its own dining hall and club rooms. The resort will have its own railway station, a vast assembly hall and a motion picture theater, a central square surrounded by cafés and shops, its own garages, et cetera. Each room will contain two beds, a sofa, two chairs and a table, and will be equipped with hot and cold running water. One advantage offered by the resort will be that families may take their children with them, a special nursery being provided where the children may be left during the day. It has been announced that a week's vacation at Rügen will cost RM 19. including transportation to and from Berlin, or equidistant points. The season will last ten months and the guests will be able to swim in heated pools when the ocean is too cold. It is claimed that the four resorts when finally completed will be capable of taking care of 80,000

visitors

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visitors at a time, which it is hoped will provide sufficient accommodation for every German working man and woman who wishes to take a seaside vacation.

For its ocean voyages Strength through Joy utilizes a fleet of 11 steamers, 6 of which are chartered and 5 of which it owns outright. With the exception of the WILHELM GUSTLOFF, the specially built Strength through Joy ship of some 22,000 tons burden, put into commission this last spring, the others are liners of the smaller type between 10,000 and 15,000 tons, converted by the addition of numerous bunks. An inspection has been made of both the new WILHELM GUSTLOFF and the MONTE SARMIENTO, a converted ship chartered from the Hamburg-South American Line. The latter, although scrupulously clean, seemed very overcrowded, as many as 16 passengers being placed in some of the larger cabins. The WILHELM GUSTLOFF on the other hand is a remarkable ship indeed, as may be seen from some of the press photographs enclosed. Designed to hold about 1,400 passengers, it has 278 double cabins, and 241 cabins for four people. In addition there are 2 dormitories, each accommodating respectively 30 boys and girls of the State Youth organization who are occasionally taken along on the trips. The cabins not only have outside port holes but forced draft ventilation as well. The bunks seemed comfortable and there appeared to be plenty of wardrobe and locker room. With its

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ample deck space, swimming pool, and large, airy public rooms, the ship challenges comparison with one of the new cabin class liners, but from the large number of chairs visible in the salons it may be surmised that it is probably far more crowded than the usual ocean liner. According to the writer's guide, the passengers eat in two sittings, the first call for breakfast being at 6:30 a. m. During the day, the passengers may play on the sport deck or divert themselves by games arranged by the Reiseleiter. Evenings they may listen to concerts or lectures, witness films, or play cards and drink beer in the salons. Numerous loudspeakers are provided to carry announcements to every part of the ship. In view of the fact that the WILHELM GUSTLOFF is intended to be a model ship, the crew is ideally cared for, their smoking room being fully as comfortable as that customarily to be found in tourist class on the better liners.

It is reported that the crew of a British freighter rescued by the WILHELM GUSTLOFF during a storm were amazed at the luxury of this ship built for the working man's vacationing. Second thoughts following on first impressions inspire perhaps less astonishment for the ship itself, which after all could be reproduced by any public body determined to spend a correspondingly large sum on its construction (conservatively estimated at about RM 12,000,000), than for the organization that can sponsor such pro-

jects

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jects. As will be shown later in this report, the Labor Front is an exceedingly prosperous body. It is perhaps merely sufficient to mention here that Strength through Joy has built and has already launched a second cruiser liner, christened the ROBERT LEY, which when put into commission next spring, will be larger and even more luxurious than the WILHELM GUSTLOFF.

For its excursions on the Rhine and other German rivers, Strength through Joy has hitherto chartered the steamers it has used. Following the acquisition of Austria, however, and because it has been found that there are not sufficient steamers on the Danube, Strength through Joy contemplates building several steamers for use on this waterway, some of them adapted to overnight excursions.

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Observations Made on a Strength Through  
Joy Trip to Helgoland.

The writer of this report made a weekend excursion from Berlin to Helgoland with Strength through Joy. Owing to the pressure of other duties it proved impossible to undertake a longer trip but it is thought enough material was obtained on this journey to give an idea of how Strength through Joy works in practice.

This particular excursion, which included some 800 travelers, was sold out several weeks in advance. The price of the trip was RM 17., RM 5.80 going toward rail fare from Berlin to Hamburg and back, RM 2 to lodging for one night and breakfast in Hamburg, the rest apparently covering the cost of the boat journey from Hamburg to Helgoland, as well as administrative expenses. (The ordinary price of a return third class rail ticket to Hamburg is RM 27.20, and that for the boat voyage, RM 20.) Participants were provided with a numbered rail ticket, a ticket for the boat, and a yellow Quartierschein, or lodging certificate, on which was written the address of the private family with whom the traveler would spend the night at Hamburg. Attached to the Quartierschein was a printed postcard which the traveler was requested to mail to the Gau Strength through Joy office in Hamburg stating whether or not he was satisfied with his quarters.

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At the station the voyagers were told by the Reiseleiter (in this case a young desk official from the Labor Front) to take their places in compartments bearing on the window the number of their tickets. In this way there was no confusion or rush for seats and the train was able to leave on schedule at 1:30 on Saturday afternoon.

The five hour and a half train journey was passed by the writer in conversation with his compartment companions who were respectively a bank messenger and his wife and a department store clerk. (The writer would hazard a guess that about 80 per cent of the participants were low-salaried employees of the white collar class and only about 20 per cent were actual everyday laborers. The party was composed mostly of the young and middle-aged with very few older people.)

An interesting fact ascertained was that many of the travelers had been in the habit for the last three years of regularly taking their vacations on Strength through Joy trips. They were generally enthusiastic about the organization and in particular with the arrangement whereby they could save up for their vacations by putting aside a few pfennigs a week for Strength through Joy savings stamps. The general opinion seemed to be that while the shorter journeys, such as that going to Helgoland were very strenuous, a real rest could be obtained on the long Strength through Joy vacations at the seaside or in

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the mountains, the holiday makers usually being left to rise in the morning when they wished and pass the day as suited them.

Upon arriving at Hamburg the travelers were told to group themselves under large signs bearing the number marked on their lodging certificate. Under each sign was a voluntary worker from the Hamburg Strength through Joy office who led parties of travelers to adjacent parts of the town where they had been assigned rooms. The writer was given a single room in the home of an elderly widow where three other Strength through Joy vacationers were lodged. The room although very small was neat and clean and next morning an excellent breakfast was served with the adjunct, extraordinary for Germany, of a hard boiled egg. Although no tips were given or expected, the lodginghouse keeper stated that she was entirely satisfied with the money which she received from Strength through Joy which helped her maintain her home following her husband's death.

Saturday evening was left to the travelers to spend as they wished, an arrangement which seemed to suit them well as many of them had never before been to Hamburg. The party was expected to meet at the boat next morning at 6:45, explicit directions being written on the program as to how the dock might be reached by subway from the main station. With the addition of another 200 Strength through Joy travelers from Hamburg, the boat was fairly overcrowded

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but nobody seemed to mind particularly, but walked about to chat with other groups or to take pictures during the long trip down the harbor. A band played almost continuously during the voyage.

On many excursions of this kind meals are included in the price of the ticket but on this particular trip it would have been quite impossible to crowd everybody into the dining-room. Certain "socially-minded" employers, however, had apparently decided to make a gift of their meals on the boat to parties of their employees, and by pre-arrangement with the Strength through Joy organization, these employees were provided with slips which they presented to obtain a simple one-course repast. The great majority of the travelers on the other hand had brought satchels loaded with sandwiches and cheese which they disposed of at odd intervals all day long.

A stop of only three hours on the island of Helgoland was provided for. This may have been arranged with purposeful forethought inasmuch as, as is well known, Helgoland, with a view to encouraging tourist traffic from which the inhabitants live principally, has been made a customs free port where foreign supplies may be obtained and enjoyed at extremely low prices. Hence three hours appeared to be sufficient time for the Strength through Joy travelers to indulge in, each according to his tastes, the perhaps mutually incompatible pastimes of imbibing strong liquors or of walking about the small, strongly fortified island. Upon departing everybody was made

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to pass a customs examination, each voyager however being permitted to take out half a bottle of liquor, a large slab of Dutch chocolate or a package of foreign cigarettes. There appear to have been no casualties or stay-behinds and the party left promptly at 5 p.m. Under the influence of the Helgoland visit, the seven-hour return voyage to Hamburg was a gay one.

Upon arrival the travelers were met again by Strength Through Joy local officials who herded them into special subway trains taking them to the main station from which the train left at midnight as per schedule. The five and a half hour long rail journey sitting upon benches of a third class carriage was grim indeed but was accepted by the majority in good part as an inevitable price to be paid. The long hours were variously spent in dozing, accordion playing and enjoyment of the spoils of Helgoland. The spirit in which the travelers took leave of each other upon arriving in Berlin on Monday morning seemed to be ample proof that everybody had had a good time.

Several interesting general impressions remain from the trip. The first is that the strength of National Socialism appears as heretofore to lie most deeply rooted in the lower middle class, more particularly among the low salaried white collar workers. Some of these had brought along an abundance of National Socialist literature and attempted to proselytize the writer. Incidentally it was interesting



teresting to observe from their rather strange conceptions of America what effect National Socialist press reporting on the United States has had upon the public mind in the last five years. The real worker, on the other hand, seemed more inclined to dismiss, with the indigenous wit of his class, politics generally and his cares in particular which he said remained about the same under the present regime. There were several Auslandsdeutsche, or Germans from foreign countries, in the gathering. Among them were some Sudeten Germans from Czechoslovakia and some Germans from the Polish corridor. References, although made for the most part jokingly, left little doubt that the Sudeten Germans in particular were expected soon to join their former Austrian brothers to become citizens of the Reich.

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THE OFFICE "BEAUTY OF WORK"

While the provision of cheap and enjoyable vacations is something in which the Labor Front takes especial pride as a new departure, it regards of no less importance the improvement of the worker's environment in his factory, particularly as this is a part of his everyday life which can affect his well-being even more directly than the way in which he spends his spare time. The Office Beauty of Work, which aims at raising working standards, is regarded as a legitimate adjunct of Strength through Joy and enables the Labor Front to claim that it concerns itself with the welfare of the workers both within as well as outside of the factory. The explanation offered by Party officials in this regard, as well as in connection with the workers' sport program, is that such measures are not inspired by charity or pity for the worker, but are motivated by a national interest in conserving and husbanding the one resource in which Germany is rich, namely, its man-power.

The improvement of working conditions is conceived as including the provision of better light and ventilation, the adoption of safety appliances, the fitting out of more and cleaner wash and locker rooms, the furnishing of factory restaurants and rest rooms. It also embraces the idea of making

the factory generally more attractive by the removal of unsightly dump heaps, the planting of trees and grass plots, the setting out of park benches, the construction of swimming pools and sport fields (the latter being done in collaboration with the Sport Office of Strength through Joy). Beauty of Work also interests itself in the living conditions of hotel employees as well as in the crews' quarters of sailors on German ships.

A report published late in 1937 claimed that up to that time the Office Beauty of Work had been responsible for the building of over a thousand workers' club houses, 3,000 canteens and rest rooms, 3,500 factory parks, 200 swimming pools, and 1,500 wash and locker rooms. It is stated that living conditions had been improved on 3,000 barges and inland waterway vessels and on 324 ocean-going ships. It was estimated that as of 1937, RM 600,000,000 had been spent by factories on the objectives of Beauty of Work. It is stated that since that time the improvement of working conditions has become such a generally accepted fact that it is no longer possible to record the expenditures statistically.

One of the collateral activities of the office is the campaign for the "Beautification of the Village" which is directed toward the removal of dump heaps and outdoor manure piles, the sprucing up of

house

house fronts, the laying out of parks, better paving, and the display of attractive advertising signs. A competition is carried out whereby towns strive to be the "model village" of the Gau, and it is reported that as of 1937, 3,168 villages and 677 large estates containing numerous farm workers had been appreciably beautified.

The Office Beauty of Work achieves its aims by propaganda, pressure, and competitive campaigns. The cost of the improvements is made to lie almost entirely upon the employer and factory owner. The Office distributes a periodical setting forth practical suggestions and takes care that it is represented at the larger national exhibitions by exhibits of its own, which for instance may show a model work bench or locker-room, or some other improvement. The agencies of the Office in many of the Gau boards of Strength through Joy maintain consulting bureaus to which manufacturers wishing to renovate their factories or build new plants may apply for advice and even completed plans. There are now being built, for instance, from model designs prepared by the Office, a new factory club house in a town in Southern Germany, a mine-house in Silesia, and a community center near Brunswick. Some of the bureaus keep lists of architects who have made a specialty in modern factory planning and who are available to execute commissions.

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The Office undertakes periodical campaigns under such slogans "GoodLight," "Less Noise," "Clean Workers in Clean Factories" and "Less Dust." In the first connection it claims to have brought it about that German electrical manufacturers have ceased to produce the old-fashioned glare shade and now sell only models approved as less harmful for the workers' eyes. The Office also frequently initiates campaigns within particular industries, having just completed, for instance, a clean-up of tanning plants which are among the dirtiest, and being now occupied with a similar campaign in the German shoe factories.

Labor Front officials claim that the activity of the employers in improving working conditions is almost entirely voluntary inasmuch as there is no way of forcing them to undertake it. This would appear, however, to be only partially true. It must be remembered that in each plant there is a representative of the Labor Front who is probably well acquainted with the economic status of the particular enterprise. If he and his fellow-workers observe that the plant is making money, and if they feel that it might therefore spend more on improving working conditions (a wage raise being out of the question in view of official policy "freezing" wages at the 1933 level), it is quite possible that he will tell the manager so, and should the latter refuse to accept his suggestion, that the cell leader

will

will then go to a higher district authority of the Labor Front who in turn may investigate the circumstances and perhaps recommend that Party pressure be exercised against a recalcitrant plant owner. It would appear that after five years' acquaintance with National Socialism most plant owners are aware of this contingency and therefore willingly anticipate possible demands in this direction. A socialistic aspect is moreover imparted to some of the schemes, as for instance the building of a swimming pool or sport field jointly by the employers and the workers, the plant furnishing the material and the every-day workers, together with their superiors, providing the labor.

Another way in which Beauty of Work is promoted is by the annual competition for the title of "model factory" which was started two years ago. The designation is bestowed for the best aggregate showing for meritorious achievement inter alia in the following lines: (1) furtherance of a workers' settlement program; (2) cooperation with Strength through Joy in encouraging and enabling workers to take vacation trips; (3) training of apprentices; and (4) improvement of working conditions. The contest is first carried out regionally and from the long list of those which survive this stage a final selection is made of those which will be named "model factories." The honor is bestowed each May 1 and the plant may keep the title from year to year

year provided it lives up to the rigid standards required. At present there are 104 model factories in the old Reich territory. This of course represents a very small proportion of the total number, but even if a plant fails to achieve this title it may be honored with a Leistungsabzeichnung, or a certificate of merit, for outstanding performance in one of the lines of endeavor, which of course includes Beauty of Work. While these honors seem to carry with them little material benefit, there being no evidence for instance that government orders are primarily reserved for such plants, they nevertheless make the owners and managers very proud, and give them a certain standing in the community.

Visits have been made to two plants actively cooperating with the Office Beauty of Work. The first, a chocolate factory near Berlin, had done a surprisingly good job in brightening up somewhat drab surroundings. It had six tennis courts, a football field, a bowling alley, a terrace for deck chairs, and a swimming pool heated in the spring and the fall by steam taken from the condenser plant. There were two attractive canteens, one each for the men and women employees, and large, clean changing rooms with a locker for every employee.

Far more remarkable, however, was a plant manufacturing machine tools (and munitions) located on the outskirts of Berlin. This was a "model factory"

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and while it was admitted that it was exceptionally advanced in social policy, its achievements may nevertheless be noted as an example of what may be done in this line. The plant, which had been rebuilt two years ago, consisted of attractive brick buildings which are entered from a spacious court. All the roads and paths were stone-paved to allay dust, and the grounds were broken up into attractive grass plots. The steel-supply heaps, as well as the refuse piles, were housed in low sheds in order to be out of sight as well as to decrease dust. The large machine hall was high ceilinged, air conditioned and marvelously light. Electric power was supplied to each unit separately, thus obviating overhead shafting which, besides being dangerous, makes for bad lighting conditions. The workers and employers ate in three shifts in an airy dining-hall where an exceptionally good meal could be obtained for 40 pfennigs. There was also a vast assembly hall with a stage for plays, lectures or concerts. The wash and locker rooms were of the most luxurious kind, the search after convenience extending to the provision of a special wash room for the war-wounded who, by a series of macabre arrangements operated by foot or by hand, could repair the deficiency of a missing limb in turning on taps. A separate establishment for the training of apprentices was included in the plant, the boys receiving a general education in addition to their mechanical schooling. Although

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the boys were able to make certain elementary castings and patterns used later in the factory, the school represented a considerable outlay of money for the plant which supported it entirely. Several factors appeared to have contributed to making this establishment one of the most progressive of its kind. In the first place it is a highly prosperous enterprise, the machine tool trade profiting tremendously by the rearmament and building boom. It was learned that the company earned an annual dividend of 12 per cent on its common stock; under existing regulations, however, only a certain percentage of such profits (between 6 and 8 per cent) can be distributed, the rest being impounded in government securities or plowed back into plant equipment, which in this case was spent upon making the enterprise a "model factory." The work, moreover, was of a clean and exact nature, the laborers being for the most part of the highly skilled class who receive from RM 60 to 100 per week, an exceedingly high wage in Germany. Finally, the plant's president and directors were old Party members who were eager to excel in National Socialist policy.

On the whole, the Office Beauty of Work appears to have rendered a creditable performance. Under its influence almost every factory in Germany has done something to improve working conditions to a greater or less degree, although the consummation of

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its efforts is perhaps to be found only in those new factories which are being built up to the most advanced standards due to its expert advice. As a result of the disarmament and the Four Year Plan programs which have been responsible for the construction of many new plants, the number of such "improved" factories has steadily increased.

With regard to one of the aspects of the office's work, namely, accident prevention, the opinion of an American engineer doing business in Germany is perhaps interesting. He stated that, generally speaking, the standard in this regard was well below the American. He attributed this not so much to a lack of effort in Germany, inasmuch as the movement is being promoted here, as to the fact that in the United States employers take the greatest pains to install safety devices in view of the exceedingly high damage costs awarded by American courts to injured workers.

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### THE SPORT OFFICE OF STRENGTH THROUGH JOY

The movement in favor of athletics and outdoor sports made rapid progress in Germany after the War, but National Socialism has promoted and organized this trend to a degree that is perhaps nowhere else equalled, the avowed reason being that the authorities regard a healthy people as a primary adjunct of social happiness and as necessary also for the maintenance of Germany's industrial and military position in the world. The success achieved in this field in three short years by the new German methods, which amount in some of their aspects to regimentation, was amply demonstrated by Germany's achievement in the Olympic Games of 1936 as compared with its showing in the Games of 1932.

The direction of sport and athletics is centralized in the Reich League for Physical Training headed by Captain Tschammer von Osten. This body directs the physical training of children in the State youth organizations, and keeps on the lookout for promising young athletes, giving them the proper kind of training and in the case of the very best, even finding them jobs which will not interfere with their athletic form. The Reich League also supervises the activities of the Sport Office of Strength through Joy.

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The purpose of the sport program of Strength through Joy has been stated as follows in a speech by Dr. Ley:

"In order to fortify and maintain the tremendous capital which the nation has in the health of its citizens, we must see to it that the age limit for persons engaged in athletics and sport is raised to at least 50 years for the normal citizen; that is, at least 20 years above the present level."

As further explained by the authorities of Strength through Joy, the Sport Office does not seek to produce record-breaking athletes, or in the main a proficiency above the average in any class of sport, but aims rather at promoting general recreation and health. It is not even interested in arranging competitions between workers' teams inasmuch as the training of teams can often result in less attention being paid to the less athletic. The Sport Office endeavors rather to encourage exercise among the workers by providing the proper facilities, and to carry forward their participation in sport beyond the point where this might otherwise cease after their leaving school and the youth organizations.

The Sport Office division of Strength through Joy maintains one or more sport bureaus in large cities, it being planned eventually to establish a bureau in every town of 10,000 or more inhabitants, a scheme which would bring the projected total of such agencies to over 600. In addition, arrangements are being worked out whereby sport advisers

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and teachers can be sent periodically to the smaller towns and villages.

The Sport Office works in different ways. After the War, and particularly during the more prosperous years of the 1920's, many factories built playing fields and swimming pools for their workers. In collaboration with the Office for Beauty or Work, which aims at improving working conditions, the Sport Office seeks to encourage the building or extension of such facilities. If a factory has no available space, the Sport Office may induce it to hire a nearby field if this is feasible.

For those who would otherwise have no access at all to physical exercise, the Sport Office undertakes a great deal on its own initiative. Taking over school gymnasiums or hiring or borrowing any kind of hall available, it will give public courses with its own instructors in general gymnastics (for men and women together), calisthenics for the elderly and for mothers, tap dancing, etc. These are known as "open courses," meaning that a person may join them at any time and is not bound to attend regularly. The Strength through Joy charge (double in the case of those not entitled to its special rates) is 30 pfennigs for an hour and a half of exercise, with a reduction of 20 per cent for the purchase of five tickets. The so-called "closed courses" in which participants must start at the beginning and sign up for the whole course, embrace

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those sports demanding a certain amount of skill, including, for instance, boxing, wrestling, tennis, golf, riding, roller-skating, rowing, etc. In these courses the fee is usually a little higher, the charge for a golf lesson (including the loan of clubs and balls) being RM 4 for five, one and a half hour-periods of instruction, each of which is charged at the rate of 80 pfennigs. Other fees vary, the charge for a one and a half hour lesson in tennis being RM 1; boxing, 40 pfennigs; swimming, 40 pfennigs; rifle shooting (including ammunition) 50 pfennigs; riding, RM 1; roller skating, 40 pfennigs; etc. For those distinctly athletically inclined, a course in preparation for the fairly difficult all-round tests for the acquisition of the Reich Sport Medal is also offered at the price of RM 3.20.

As part of a scheme aiming at a general survey of the German workers' health, all sport participants in Strength through Joy may receive free a physical examination. Another privilege that is extended free is the offering of setting-up exercises at public beaches for any of the bathers who wish to join in.

In Berlin, public-school gymnasiums or fire houses are utilized usually for the meeting places of the indoor courses, while those requiring outdoor space are held either on private fields or

tennis

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tennis courts rented for this purpose, or on the magnificent grounds of the Reich Sport Field adjoining the Olympic Stadion. The location of the gathering places is advertised in the Strength through Joy monthly bulletins or on factory billboards and the participants are expected to attend that nearest to the place where they live.

The Sport Office claims that during the past year it helped found between 5,000 and 6,000 new Betriebssportgemeinschaften, or factory sport clubs, embracing some 500,000 workers. It estimates that in 1937 over 8 million people took part in its courses, or in sport events arranged under its auspices. Statistics furnished with respect to the personal status of the participants are interesting. Strength through Joy authorities state that between 60 and 70 per cent of those attending the sport courses are women. The age of the majority of women participants runs between 20 and 30, and that of the men between 25 and 35.

The Sport Office has in all about 1,500 instructors associated with it, 300 of whom are paid to devote their whole time to Strength through Joy. Those hired on a part-time basis receive a minimum standard fee running between RM 4 and 6. The Office claims that it has had little difficulty in attracting in this way instructors who are desirous of piecing out their earnings by working with Strength through Joy, particularly during off-season intervals.

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The principal task of the teachers hired on a permanent basis is to train promising young athletes among the workers who in turn will be able to give their services as instructors to Strength through Joy free of charge. The grooming of a set of new instructors, which is regarded as necessary in any event to care for the ever-expanding number of sport participants, is proudly described as a contribution to the "national physical wealth."

With regard to the financing of sport activities, it is explained that while the fees received from course members pay for instructors' salaries, they do not cover other costs, such as administration, renting of gymnasium and sport fields, and equipment. These expenses are charged against the general funds of the Strength through Joy organization.

Brief consideration may be given to some of the more elaborate activities of the Sport Office. The Office has six hotels, where workers may spend a "sport vacation" at a nominal price. In collaboration with the Office for Travel, Hiking and Vacation, it arranges winter skiing excursions, and in preparation for these gives practice skiing courses on salt or pine needles. (The price of a week's stay in the Allgäu in Upper Bavaria, including railway fare from Berlin and return is, for instance, RM 55; it is stated that last year some 20,000

workers

workers from Berlin alone took part in these excursions.)

Strength through Joy owns four sea-going yachts, the largest of which holds 50 passengers, and again in conjunction with the Office for Travel, it offers workers training courses in sailing lasting a week or ten days at a price of about RM 30 (including the loan of sea togs.) In addition to these larger vessels which cruise about the North Sea and Baltic coasts and frequently put in at Danish and Swedish ports, the organization also owns over 100 smaller sailing craft located in various sea harbors and lakes in Germany.

Not least of the accomplishments of the Sport Office is the service it has rendered in making sport equipment available to workers at a price they can afford. The Office has prevailed upon manufacturers to produce and put on sale at sport stores, a skiing set, consisting of skis, suit and boots, costing RM 39; a tennis racket priced at RM 12.50; and a pair of roller skates at RM 3. Though skeptical at first, the manufacturers are reported to have found the new venture profitable by virtue of the large turnover involved, some 30,000 ski sets, for instance, having been sold last year. These articles are advertised under the name of Strength through Joy and, in conjunction with the project for producing a Strength

through

through Joy car, have led to the witticism that the organization may soon bring out a Strength through Joy tail-coat.

Since the above was written, Dr. Ley has announced a plan for furthering sport participation of the workers on a competitive basis. In August and September of this year there will be held throughout Germany what will be called a "sport rally." A three-event competition is envisaged, consisting of a steeple-chase, throwing of the medicine ball, and a 1000-meter relay race, the matches being held on a team basis. The various factories will be called to make up as many teams as possible from among their workers, these teams then competing against each other for the honor of representing the factory. Intra-factory competitions will later take place for the regional or Gau championship. An interesting feature is that the championship will not be determined by team performance alone but also on the basis of the proportional representation of all of the workers in each factory in the initial training matches. This device is chosen to meet the objection mentioned above that intra-factory competition may some time result in too much attention being paid to an individual team to the detriment of other sport participants.

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## THE ORGANIZATION OF LEISURE TIME

The phases of work which have been discussed up to now may perhaps be viewed as primarily dealing with the physical welfare of the German worker. Remarkable as these arrangements are, one would seem to touch upon something intangibly more vast and significant when one comes to deal with the manner in which Strength through Joy seeks to order the laborer's spare time. This work gives a glimpse into the all-presuasive influence of Strength through Joy and its parent body, the Labor Front.

The organization of spare time is carried out by two offices of Strength through Joy, the Amt Feierabend, or Office for Leisure Time, which concerns itself primarily with the recreational aspects of the question, and by the Amt Volksbildungswerk, or Office for Popular Education which, as its name implies, aims at a general political, cultural and artistic education of the masses. The separation of these offices, which from some points of view is superfluous, is apparently due to organizational reasons, the Amt Feierabend being the successor to the N.S. Kulturgemeinde which formerly was operated independently by the Propaganda Ministry. The Labor Front's assumption of this form of activity is an indication of its ever-expanding size and power.

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The Office for Leisure Time

The task of the Office for Leisure Time is to enable workers to go to the opera, theaters and concerts, which they would otherwise find it impossible to attend; to arrange factory concerts, community singing, costume and dance festivals and broadcasts by amateur musicians; to send travelling theatrical companies and motion-pictures out into the country districts; and generally to help workers spend their spare time pleasantly and profitably. The service of the organization in bringing about a kind of back-to-the-theater movement is deserving of special interest.

An inquiry undertaken in 1933 among the 30,000 workers of the Siemens plant in Berlin showed that 87 per cent of the men, and 81 per cent of the women, had never heard an opera, and that respectively 63 and 74 per cent of the men and women had never been to the theater. While the Labor Front authorities, according to their own statement, did not regard this as remarkable in view of the fact that 58 per cent of the German workers earn 150 marks or less per month, the same officials set themselves the task of bringing these people to theaters and to concerts at prices they could afford. The price scale now in effect is one mark for opera and the best concerts, and 75 - 80 pfennigs for the theater (including the checking of hats and coats).

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In Berlin the following theaters are reserved exclusively for the use of Strength through Joy: the Volksoper - for opera, and the Theater des Volkes - for musical comedy. These theaters were formerly operated by the N. S. Kulturgemeinde of the Propaganda Ministry but in agreement with the latter Ministry the Strength through Joy organization has assumed predominant ownership and management. Strength through Joy also disposes over "peoples theaters" in Breslau, Dresden and Munich.

In addition to these, its own theaters, which give almost nightly performances during the season, Strength through Joy concludes agreements with private theater owners in various cities, contracting for blocks of seats for one or more evenings. The State-supported Staatsoper in Berlin reserves one evening every two weeks for Strength through Joy (probably at considerable monetary sacrifice). In other cases officials of the organization will go to theater managers several weeks after an opening (when the novelty has worn off and attendance has begun to lag), and will propose taking over the whole or a part of the seats for a stated period. The price offered is only the standard Strength through Joy rate of 75-80 pfennigs per person; this is a more welcome contribution toward the meeting of operating expenses than empty seats, however, and it is said that many theater

managers



managers are glad to receive the money to prolong a run until the expiration of their contractual obligations for rent and actors' salaries. It is reported that certain "socially-minded" producers of great successes voluntarily turn their houses over to Strength through Joy for a night every two weeks. During the past season in Berlin Strength through Joy had working agreements of this nature with six theaters.

The visits of the workers to the theaters are arranged in much the same manner as their vacation tours. After scanning the Strength through Joy programs, the worker will apply to his Betriebswart from whom he will eventually receive a Gutschein, or certificate good for the number of seats demanded. (Persons, such as domestic servants, not associated with a particular plant, will apply to the nearest local office of the Labor Front.) On the night of the performance, the worker will take his certificate to the theater where, in Berlin at least, a rather curious ceremony is enacted. Theaters owned by Strength through Joy or bound to it by contract, have in their lobbies four booths, over each of which are posted the following signs: Single Seats, 2 Seats, 3 Seats, and 4 Seats. A worker with a certificate for 4 seats will take it to the appropriate booth; a drum will then be

rotated



rotated from which will emerge his final ticket with the seat numbers. Chance is thus resorted to in order to avoid any semblance of favoritism, and the worker who sits behind a post at one performance can hope for better luck at the next.

The management of six German theaters alone has put Strength through Joy definitely in the show business, but its involvements reach still further. In various towns it will rent theaters and hire its own actors and artists, particularly for its extremely popular "variety evenings" (Bunte Abende - admission price 20 - 30 pfennigs) which are enlivened by cabaret shows, by light songs from operas, and by accordion playing. Strength through Joy also goes on the road with some 30 traveling companies who visit the smaller towns and give as well free performances in the camps of laborers working on the new Reich roads. In addition to these companies, Strength through Joy also has two automobile trains (later to be increased to six) which take up one-night stands in the smaller villages, particularly in frontier sections. A glimpse has been had of one of these bands of performers who tour about the country in their auto-trains consisting of a bus for the performers and a big Diesel van for the stage and scenery. Its coming will be announced by the town crier with a bell, and its arrival greeted by the children in the

village.

village. The company will then erect its stage in the square and after collecting 25 pfennigs from each of the spectators seated on stools or benches brought forth from the school, will present a first-class burlesque show or comedy, performed by artists who may have just completed engagements in Berlin. Operating on the same principle, the organization also has about 30 motion-picture trucks which tour the villages, giving them the latest news reels, dramatic, cultural or political films at a cost of 20 or 30 pfennigs.

The following statistics have been received regarding the sale of theater tickets for the year 1937:

Opera and operetta .....	3,537,236
Comedies and other plays .....	4,870,769
Variety performances, caberet shows and other entertainments.....	20,642,997

The revenue received from the sale of tickets last year amounted in all to RM 16,517,000. It has been learned that except in the case of the theaters which admit Strength through Joy audiences and themselves assume the cost of the performances (and except possibly in the case of the People's Theater in Berlin which seats as many as 3,000 people and which was taken over at a nominal price from the emigrated producer Max Reinhardt), the theater performances run and managed by Strength through Joy

generally

generally do not meet expenses but represent a burden on the general budget of the organization. On the other hand, the variety performances and Bunte Abende which pay very little money for artistic talent frequently bring in small profits.

As far as the quality of the performances is concerned, those visited have been of the popular rather than of the more highly cultural kind, burlesque and slapstick being found in abundance. An exception, however, is the People's Opera in Berlin which with great simplicity of decor gives a truly remarkably finished production. This would appear to be due primarily to the capacities of its director, Dr. Orthmann, who, working on the principle of giving younger artists their first chance, is able to obtain transcendently good talent. It has been noticed that excellent as the People's Opera is, it does not seem to have the same attraction as the more popular shows and that although it is always full, some of the seats are bought by non-participants in Strength through Joy who pay the price of four or five marks charged outsiders.

Besides the theater, Strength through Joy is also active in the field of music. In collaboration with the Propaganda Ministry, it operates the 90-piece Reich's Symphony Orchestra which, besides being employed for general broadcasting, tours the country giving workers' concerts at an admission

price

said that the quality of the German theater, other than the opera and the classical dramas, is particularly high, the blame would appear to lie with the authorities who determine the pattern of present-day German culture, rather than with those who have achieved so much through organization in bringing the people to partake of this culture.

The Office for Popular Education.

The work of the Office for Popular Education must be viewed from two different aspects: first from the standpoint of the "absolute" knowledge it imparts, and secondly from the standpoint of that knowledge which is "relative," in the sense of serving the purposes of the National Socialist Party. Briefly put, this means that the Office's work is in part "learning" and in part propaganda, it being of course understood that the word "propaganda" has no invidious connotations in a totalitarian State such as the German, which, together with the Italian, has assigned this designation to one of its principal ministries. The two elements of teaching are cleverly mixed to give a brand of popular education which on the one hand is recreational and of intellectual interest to the individual, and on the other hand fits this individual to be the kind of citizen the Nazi Party and State desire.

Schemes for the education of the worker are nothing new in Germany, and Strength through Joy had a forerunner in an elaborate system built up under the Weimar Republic. In the years after the War there existed throughout Germany between 50 and 60 Volkshochschulen, or popular institutions of secondary learning, which in most cases were supported by the State or in some cases, as for instance

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the Karl Marx Hochschule in Berlin, by the trade unions. The State universities sent professors to teach in these institutions, or arranged special lecture courses of their own for the worker. According to impartial authorities, however, as well as even persons opposed to the present National Socialist regime, these institutions were a failure in so far as achieving their purpose of attracting every-day workers and raising the educational level of this class. By all accounts the courses given were too advanced, too "intellectual" and of too theoretical and deeply philosophical a nature to appeal to workers other than those of the most exceptional intelligence. The National Socialist institution of Strength through Joy has made no such mistakes and while its educational standards are doubtless lower, it appears to have devised a system which is suited to the intellectual level of the people for whom it is intended, all the time forming them to the mould of the reigning Party. While criticism may be made of the material purveyed, the methods of organization and of teaching stand as perhaps patterns of the proper approach to the minds of the masses.

The Office for Popular Education is run with the assistance of an advisory board consisting of one officer from its own bureau, an official from the Ministry of Education, and an official from

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the national association of local authorities (Ge-meinderat). Its places of work are first the factories themselves, to which the Office sends its lecturers and teachers, and secondly the Volksbildungsstätten of "stations," of which there are some 600 throughout Germany (20 in Berlin alone), and which are either former Volkshochschulen, buildings contributed by the municipal authorities, or sections of Party office buildings. Small towns and country districts which are not able to have such permanent institutions benefit by visiting lecturers or teachers.

The programs arranged by the Office offer the following features:

- (1) Single lectures of general political or cultural interest, as for instance an account of the Battle of Jutland (with lantern slides), reports of their travels by returned German explorers, etc.
- (2) Lecture series developing a subject or period in German art or history, or a typical theme of National Socialist policy, as for instance its race, health or economic program.
- (3) Arbeitsgemeinschaften, "working gatherings," comprising 30 or 40 listeners from a lecture course, these gatherings being really "seminars" in which the

subject



subject treated in lectures is developed in further discussion.

- (4) Arbeitskreise, or "working circles" which are simultaneously lecture and discussion groups. This method is employed most frequently in the pursuit of what might be called "hobby" subjects such as amateur photography, astronomy, stamp collecting, chess, or manual training.
- (5) Elementary courses in foreign languages (in the Volksbildungsstätten in big cities nine languages are offered); in Algebra; logarithmic calculations; book-keeping; shorthand; drawing; sculpture; wood carving; commercial German; accordion or clarinet lessons; etc.
- (6) Exhibitions, visits to museums and places of historical interest (castles, prehistoric excavations, battlefields or places famous in folklore), guided tours through factories, etc. Strength through Joy puts special emphasis on the latter kind of tour as promoting fellowship and understanding among workers of different plants. Periodical group inspections are made of such factories of general interest as the Siemens-Halske electrical works, a local brewery or dairy plant,

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the Berlin Underground system, a cigarette factory, a municipal air field, the Zoo, etc.

The mechanical execution of the Office's program is interesting. A prospective participant in any one of the various kinds of activity is urged to buy a Hörerkarte costing 30 pfennigs and good for six months. Although the card is not absolutely necessary for participation, it entitles the holder to attend certain lectures free of charge and in any case affords a substantial reduction in the price. A worker possessing such a card will, for instance, pay RM 3.50 for 12 English lessons, RM 1 for 4 algebra lessons, 20 pfennigs for a lecture on the "Life of a Bee" or "The Problem of Lefthandedness," 20 pfennigs for a museum or factory tour, etc. As mentioned before, many lecturers and teachers come directly to the factories, but in the case of an outside course, the worker does not burden his Betriebswart with requests for tickets but applies directly to the nearest Volksbildungsstätte.

Under a highly organized State such as the National Socialist, opportunities for enlisting the necessary teachers and varying the form of the undertakings is infinite. Many of the teachers are Party and government officials who deal in

their

their ordinary line of duty with the subjects on which they lecture, as for instance race or economic policy, and who therefore give their services free to Strength through Joy. Private teachers are persuaded by the professional organization to which they belong to contribute their time at very low cost (RM 2 per hour being the fee offered a school teacher brought in from his regular job to lecture at a Volksbildungsstätte). Records show that out of 6,787 teachers associated with the Office, 74.8% gave their services entirely free of charge, 23.5% worked for a small nominal fee, whereas only 1.7% were employed by Strength through Joy on a full-time basis. With respect to the visits made to the plants, which play a large role in the work of the Office for Popular Education, the factory owners can of course easily be coerced by the Labor Front to throw their plants open to inspection by visiting groups, and to provide the necessary guides.

While the Strength through Joy authorities state that the work of popular education is still only in its initial stage, they regard the following statistics for attendance during the year 1937 as quite an accomplishment:

Popular

1. Popular Educational Work in the  
Volksbildungsstätten.

Single lectures.....	3136	with 545 719 participants
1977 lecture series made up of single lectures..	7344	" 239 924 "
Working gatherings ( <u>Ar- beitsgemeinschaften</u> )...	1012	" 31 571 "
Working circles ( <u>Arbeits- kreise</u> ).....	1946	" 34 078 "
Courses .....	2014	" 40 892 "
Conducted tours .....	1551	" 70 278 "
Inspections .....	939	" 32 721 "
Educational trips .....	144	" 5 058 "
Other activities .....	426	" 76 439 "
Permanent exhibitions ...	18	" 65 974 "
Traveling exhibitions ...	43	" 77 449 "

Total.....18,573 with 1,220,102 participants

2. Popular

2. Popular Educational Work outside  
the Volksbildungsstätten.

Single lectures.....	3 970	with	751 921	participants
Popular educational evenings:				
in factories.....	361	"	90 827	"
in the city.....	339	"	75 620	"
in the country.....	3 385	"	444 403	"
288 lectures series made up of single lectures	1 009	"	53 124	"
Working gatherings ( <u>Ar- beitsgemeinschaften</u> )..	584	"	7 626	"
Working circles ( <u>Arbeits- kreise</u> ).....	2 388	"	41 618	"
Courses.....	471	"	7 845	"
Conducted tours.....	17 240	"	813 094	"
Inspections.....	3 986	"	166 854	"
Educational trips.....	197	"	9 120	"
Other activities.....	427	"	80 136	"
Permanent exhibitions..	35	"	95 608	"
Traveling exhibitions..	25	"	15 910	"

Total: 34,417 with 2,653,708 participants.

With respect to classification of the participants according to sex and profession, the Strength through Joy authorities have only been able to furnish figures regarding attendance at the Volksbildungsstätten. These figures show that of a group of 221,135 registered course members, 60.5% were men and 39.5% women. The group listed according to

professional

professional categories was made up as follows:

Students .....	4 156	1.9%
Members of the armed forces ....	5 735	2.6%
Tradesmen .....	11 091	5 %
Hand workers .....	14 175	6.5%
Party and State officials .....	21 699	9.8%
Laborers .....	40 827	18.4%
Employees .....	58 196	26.3%
Others (members of free professions, housewives, etc.) .....	65 256	29.5%
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Total .....	221,135	100 %

Personal observation made at several courses visited seems to check more or less with these statistics. It was noted that these courses were made up in large part of women and young people, the largest proportion of the adult men coming from the employee or white collar class, which would seem to show that, despite its exceedingly broad basis of appeal, the organization has not yet succeeded in attracting the great mass of the workers themselves. The attendance of members of the armed forces is interesting inasmuch as it is understood that this is the only form of activity of Strength through Joy in which army recruits are now permitted to take part.

The competent authorities declare that they are less concerned with communicating in their courses exact knowledge, such as dates and figures of the kind learned in school, than in presenting impressionistic surveys, particularly in the matter of German history, where periods and personalities are

dealt

dealt with in broad outline. Those courses may be regarded as somewhat superficial, which indeed they may perhaps have to be in order to appeal to their audiences. A more important result is that they are open to propaganda, historical figures being praised or condemned in terms of present-day National Socialist thinking. Some of the courses are indeed beguilingly learned and tendentious, as for instance a Strength through Joy lecture on the falsification of German history wrought by the fact that early historical writing was chiefly done by the monks.

In the field of art appreciation, superficial but stimulating teaching has nevertheless done a great deal to inspire the workers' interest in these matters. In collaboration with the Office for Leisure Time, the popular education authorities arrange many factory exhibits. Reproductions of paintings or etchings attached to collapsible stands which may be easily transported are exhibited in a particular factory for a week or ten days. During this period a lecturer will come at the luncheon hour and will explain the details of each picture. Working on the imagination of his listeners he will then announce a visit to a museum where the originals, or works by the same artists, may themselves be seen. Although this teaching is strongly nationalistic (primary emphasis being put on German painters), it has nevertheless suc-

ceeded



ceeded in attracting large groups to these tours. Strength through Joy claims that by methods such as these it will eventually produce a new creatively expressive generation which will repair the artistic deficiency with which National Socialism is so often taxed.

The Office for Popular Education is active in disseminating literature and has special traveling libraries contained in easily handled cases which are sent about the countryside to small towns or placed in the crews' quarters of German ships. As described in a Strength through Joy pamphlet, the various classes of literature thus disseminated is interesting, particularly the order in which they are listed: National Socialist political books, war books, historical works, books on farming, adventure and travel, and society novels. Strength through Joy also encourages the inhabitants of small towns to write their own history through the ingenious method of starting a village record-book in which are entered everyday occurrences and notable events, usually written by the local Party leaders or school teachers. Incidentally, all Strength through Joy work in outlying villages is adapted to the aim of checking the migration of country people to the cities. Very few films of city life, which might appear glamorous to the imagination of younger members of the family, are shown, and everything is done to render and portray country life as being the more attractive and happier.

THE STRENGTH THROUGH JOY CAR

The vast size and ramifications of the Labor Front which have constantly come into view in the course of this report are perhaps most notably demonstrated by the entry of the Labor Front into the field of automobile manufacture for the production of the famous "people's car" which has been talked of for several years and which now, by order of Chancellor Hitler, is to be called the "Strength through Joy Car." While the question of this car perhaps lies more properly within the field of discussion of automotive experts, it nevertheless must be treated briefly as one aspect of the activities of Strength through Joy.

"The Company for the Promotion of the People's Car" was founded early in 1937, with a capital of RM 50,000,000 drawn from the general funds of the Labor Front. This company is a more or less independent body and its present connection with the Strength through Joy organization is asserted chiefly through the direction of the company by Dr. Lafferentz, who is at the same time head of Strength through Joy. The marketing of the car is to be undertaken by the offices of the Labor Front and of Strength through Joy.

On May 17 of this year the Chancellor laid the cornerstone for the factory, which is to be situated near Fallersleben (Hanover) at the intersection of the East-West Autobahn and the Mittel-land Canal. It has been stated that the plant will eventually employ 60,000 workers and will be a combined "model factory" and "model village" in every respect, boasting of all the improvements of "Beauty of Work" and possessing a workers' settlement colony which will be rendered comfortable and beautiful by parks, sport places, etc. A first series of 30,000 cars will be ready at the end of 1939; while production will be progressively stepped up thereafter, it is expected that manufacture will not reach the peak of about a million and a half until 1946.

Pilot models of the car which will eventually be produced in three types, a limousine, an open car, and a convertible limousine, have already been exhibited. Designed to seat 4 or 5 passengers, the car is 4.2 meters long (13 feet, 8 inches), 1.55 meters wide (5 feet, 1 inch) and weighs 650 kg (1438 pounds). An aircooled motor of 24 horse power (German measurement) placed in the rear will, it is claimed, consume only 6 or 7 liters (6 to 6 1/2 quarts) of gasoline and 1/10 of a liter of oil per 100 kilometers, or 65 miles. The car, it is furthermore claimed, will be capable of a sustained

speed

speed of 100 kilometers per hour on the new Reich automobile roads. In general appearance the car does not represent any radical departure, being very similar to a small Mercedes-Benz which has been on the road for several years. It is understood, however, that the use of an aircooled engine situated in the rear is very much of a novelty, but this and other engineering features are for the time being held a close secret, the motor being jealously guarded against close inspection at all exhibits where the car has been shown. The car was designed by Dr. Porsche, the well known constructor of racing automobiles, which in itself is taken as a guarantee that it will render creditable performance. Pictures of the Strength through Joy car are enclosed in an appendix to this report.

Of distinct interest is the plan envisaged to facilitate purchase of the car. The factory price is quoted at RM 990. In order to enable prospective owners to anticipate purchase now, an installment-paying scheme was opened August 1st, whereby payments are to be accepted at a minimum weekly rate of RM 5. In order, it is said, to prevent the Strength through Joy car from being considered a "lower class" car, the payment scheme will be open to all Germans, irrespective of income, and weekly installments higher than RM 5 may be made. In fact, the total cost of the car may be paid now, although

cash

cash payments are out of the question and the car can only be acquired through the purchase of RM 5 stamps which may be bought up to the whole, or any partial amount, that the prospective owner desires. In the ordinary course of events the installment payer will provide himself with a savings-book containing space for 50 stamps, and when this has been filled, will turn it in for another. When in all three such books (representing a paid-up amount of RM 750) have been turned in, the holder will receive an order number. It is said that by a system of regional contingents, steps have been taken to prevent persons who have paid higher installments from receiving their cars before others who have paid less, delivery to be determined in the order of precedence of the individual inscriptions. The sum of RM 200, which will provide insurance for two years covering public liability and a limited amount of damage to the car itself, may also be paid by the installment method.

At first the cars will be made available in only one color - blue gray - and production will be restricted to only two models - the enclosed limousine and the convertible limousine - the latter costing RM 60 more. Cancellation of orders will be permitted only in exceptional circumstances, although payment of the installment may be deferred, at the sacrifice, however, of the holder's place in

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the order of delivery.

The German press reported that the Strength through Joy and Labor Front offices, with which orders must be filed, have been swamped since August 1st, and that during the first three days 30,000 applications were received in Berlin alone. Incidentally, as it will be some time before even the manufacture of the car will be begun, it is observed that the Labor Front will be able to accumulate in the interval a tidy sum from the installments received, on which, of course, no interest is allowed.

It has been claimed in the German press that the Strength through Joy car will do more for cheap general motorization than has already been accomplished in the United States. While such claims make good internal propaganda, their validity, or rather their immediate fulfillment, is doubted in responsible circles. At the former par rate of 1 Reichsmark equaling \$0.25 (which is probably not a valid comparison in view, inter alia, of differences in respective wage scales, but which may be taken to give every benefit of the doubt to the National Socialist argument), the price of the Strength through Joy car would come to approximately \$250, which is certainly cheaper than any new American car. For this price, however, the American worker may obtain a good second-hand car which, considering the quality of materials, might well have as long a life as a new

Strength



Strength through Joy car. In Germany, on the other hand, second-hand cars are fairly expensive. A law enacted in May 1933 exempting cars built after that date from the State tax, has had the effect of maintaining the re-sale value of such cars; others, while they may be had cheaply, must pay the tax, which is very high. In the opinion of an authority in the motor transport division of the German Army, what is needed to bring about cheap motorization in Germany is a second-hand car market similar to that in the United States.

In this connection, the experience which has been gathered with respect to the sale of motor-cycles in Germany is interesting. Since 1934, when the government building and armaments programs began to have the result that many workers in the semi-skilled and skilled categories made more money (the first, by virtue of being transferred to the skilled classes owing to a general labor shortage, and the latter, by virtue of working overtime for higher pay), the motor-cycle has become more and more a means of conveyance for these classes of workers. Within the last year or so there has grown up a market for second-hand motor-cycles and these in turn are at last finding their way into the hands of many unskilled workers. The particular authority consulted envisaged that the Strength through Joy car would gradually take the place and repeat the

role



role that has been played by the motor-cycle. It is believed that even with the installment-paying scheme very few day laborers (whose average weekly net wage for 1937 was RM 31.2, as reported on page 43 of the semi-annual review of the REICHS-KREDIT-GESELLSCHAFT, English edition, for the first half of 1938) will be able to afford a Strength through Joy car. These cars, as in the case of the motor-cycle, will first be bought by the lower middle classes and the comparatively well-paid skilled worker, and then perhaps two or three years after they come into general use - say, six or seven, or even ten years from now - may eventually become available at second-hand prices to large numbers of the every-day worker, as has occurred in the United States.

It is admitted by the competent authorities that the Strength through Joy car project presents many difficulties. In particular it is realized that four years would be required before the car can be entirely paid for by a purchaser paying the lowest weekly installment, and that when the peak of production is finally reached some scheme may have to be devised to enable the lowest-paying owners to acquire new cars at shorter intervals than four years. It is understood, however, that the authorities are giving attention to this problem as well

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as to various schemes to reduce costs of repairs and garaging. Finally, a larger question would seem to be involved in the fact that the general motorization project of the future will heavily tax Germany's gasoline resources and the plan for bringing about as great a self-sufficiency as possible by the production of synthetic fuels.

The Strength through Joy car may some day become well known abroad inasmuch as the authorities have announced that when the production has reached its normal stride the car will be exported in large quantities. Its low price expressed in terms of manipulated export currency may well make it a serious competitor to foreign manufacturers.

THE FINANCING OF STRENGTH THROUGH JOY

The Labor Front which sponsors Strength through Joy is one of the richest organizations in Germany, but just how rich it is cannot be ascertained inasmuch as no detailed report has ever been published concerning its finances. In a private conversation at which the writer was present, Dr. Ley mentioned that the Labor Front had an annual turnover of over 2 billion marks (i.e., income and out-go of money) and he stated confidentially that it enjoyed such prosperity that the Reich Ministry of Finance had made attempts to levy taxes upon it.

The wealth of the Labor Front derives in part from the funds confiscated from the former trade unions in May 1933 (amounting, so Dr. Ley declared in a speech delivered in Nuremberg in 1937, to RM 120,000,000) but chiefly from contributions from members, including not only workers but the employers as well. The following is a partial scale of the monthly contributions based on the income of individual members:

Monthly

Monthly Dues

Monthly Earnings in Reichmarks

.40 .....	unemployed on the dole	
.60 .....	invalids	
.60 .....	---	40.00
.80 .....	from 40.01	to 60.00
1.20 .....	" 60.01	" 80.00
1.40 .....	" 80.01	" 100.00
1.80 .....	" 100.01	" 120.00
2.20 .....	" 120.01	" 160.00
2.80 .....	" 160.01	" 180.00
3.40 .....	" 180.01	" 220.00
3.80 .....	" 220.01	" 260.00
4.40 .....	" 260.01	" 300.00

The above table may be regarded as covering the ordinary worker group. From that point onwards, the scale of contributions ascends to RM 12 which, it is stated, is the highest contribution charged any member. On the other hand, it is learned that many employers make supplementary voluntary contributions amounting to as much as RM 25, RM 50, or even RM 100 a month. It may be assumed that considerable sums are received on this score. Each member has a book in which he pastes each month stamps designating the amount of his membership contribution, which in many cases is deducted from the worker's salary automatically by his firm's accountants.

The

The average monthly contribution in 1935 was RM 1.57 and in 1937, RM 1.885, the increase it is stated, reflecting the rise in national income which had taken place in the interval. It is claimed that the latter figure of RM 1.885, even though it is an average based on the contributions of employers as well as workers, is less than the amount paid by the worker to the former trade unions. Members of the Labor Front apparently receive nothing per se for their contributions other than the privileges of membership, which among other things entitles them to participate in Strength through Joy and, in some deserving cases, vouchsafes workers or their families certain subsidies should they become destitute through no fault of their own.

The writer was told that in February 1937, RM 28,600,000 were received in contributions, and that the monthly total thereafter ran at about RM 30,000,000 until December when RM 35,200,000 were collected. It was explained that the exceptional rise in December was based upon income increases due to Christmas and year-end bonuses.

The sum of RM 300,000,000, representing contributions for ten months of the year, added to the amount of RM 63,800,000 received in January and December, would therefore yield a grand total income in contributions of well over RM 363,000,000 for 1937.

The Labor Front has of course other sources of income besides contributions, inasmuch as it runs its own savings-banks, insurance schemes, settlement projects and even in some cases its own business enterprises. Considering the ramifications and variety of activities of the Labor Front, the total annual turnover of RM 2 billion mentioned by Dr. Ley is not necessarily a surprising figure.

In view of the fact that the great bulk of the Labor Front's funds is spent upon such schemes as workers' housing, costly vocational training, and benefits for destitute workers, et cetera, the survey given above of its finances is perhaps of only indirect interest as far as Strength through Joy is concerned, although it is nevertheless useful in showing the gigantic resources that stand behind the recreational organization. According to statements made by a high official in the treasury division, the Labor Front launched Strength through Joy on a capital of about RM 24,000,000 granted during the first year and, in proportion to the expansion of Strength through Joy, has increased the subsidy to the point where RM 35,000,000 were paid in 1937. It is claimed that this figure includes inventory, meaning the cost of the new cruise ships and other facilities, but did not comprise the sum of RM 50,000,000 allocated to capitalize the manufacture of the Strength through Joy car. While some doubt has been cast on these figures

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by certain German business men, who offer a much higher estimate of the cost of Strength through Joy to the Labor Front, it must be accepted as the only official statement available.

With respect to the budget of Strength through Joy, it has been possible to obtain only very rough figures. According to the official in the treasury division of the Labor Front, the debit balance of Strength through Joy, that is, the total money expended for ordinary purposes, was approximately RM 135,000,000 for 1937, while the credit balance, that is, money received, amounted to approximately RM 107,000,000. The difference of RM 28,000,000 was made up from the subsidy of RM 35,000,000 received from the Labor Front, the remaining RM 7,000,000 of that subsidy representing capital outlay on new equipment, including the installment for that year toward the cost of the two new cruise ships.

On the income side Strength through Joy received RM 81,200,000 in payments made by workers for their vacation trips, and RM 16,517,000 in payments received for theater tickets and other forms of entertainment offered by the Office for Leisure Time, the total of these amounts coming to about RM 97,717,000. The difference between the latter sum and the figure of RM 107,000,000 representing the total ordinary revenue of Strength

through



through Joy was made up by fees collected by the Sport Office and by the Office for Popular Education.

With respect to the financial status of each individual subdivision of Strength through Joy, it was asserted, as has been mentioned before, that the land journeys of the Office of Travel, Hiking and Vacations paid for themselves and indeed sometimes rendered a small surplus which was devoted to money lost on the sea trips. The writer's informant did not have at hand any figures for the Sport Office but said that apart from the large amounts spent by individual factories on sport arrangements, the Office itself had to pay certain sums to cover rent of sport fields and deficits in instructors' salaries over and above the fees charged the participants. Apart from administrative expenses, the accomplishments of the Beauty of Work Office cost Strength through Joy very little, inasmuch as the charges for the improvement of working conditions were made to lie chiefly upon the plant owners.

Despite the large revenue received by the Office for Leisure Time, its deficit was perhaps greater than that of the other departments, inasmuch as it ran its own theaters and frequently had to sustain losses arising from the failure to sell tickets it had contracted for, as well as losses

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due to the cancellation of performances owing to bad weather. It was finally stated that the Office for Popular Education was burdened with a certain amount of overhead charges for the upkeep of buildings and so forth, but on the other hand, as has been pointed out before, paid very little for lecturers and teachers, inasmuch as many of the latter were loaned by the Party or government bureaus, or volunteered their services at considerable personal sacrifice.

FINAL EVALUATION

The above account is primarily a factual survey based upon what the writer has been told by official informants, upon what he has seen of Strength through Joy in practice, and to a lesser degree upon what he has read (mostly Gau programs and earlier speeches by Dr. Ley, there being little other printed material of value). The writer believes that this account presents a fairly accurate picture of Strength through Joy activities in the large, although he is not satisfied concerning certain statistics and figures, particularly those relating to the finances of Strength through Joy in, which certain discrepancies have been noted in statements made. However, as no other sources than the purely official were available, there remained no alternative but to select that information which seemed to be the most plausible and reliable.

While incidental comment has been interpolated in the preceding account, no attempt has been made to draw the picture together in even its smaller outlines before the completion of the survey. In view of the extended range of Strength through Joy, judgment upon it must necessarily be of a composite nature and it is therefore believed that a comprehensive estimate of the achievements of the organi-

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zation can perhaps best be approached through opinions obtained among the following groups: first, the employers; secondly, private individuals and businesses who serve Strength through Joy; and lastly, and most important, the workers and employees themselves.

Employers' Views Regarding Strength through Joy.

Discussions have been held with several employers (including an American business man located in Germany), in such various lines as the electrical and machine tool industries, as well as in the department-store trade. Inasmuch as it is customary for large firms in Germany to assign one of their directors to handle social policy, consultations have been sought with several of these directors.

With almost no exceptions, universal approval was expressed by these employers of the Strength through Joy idea, this approval, however, ranging from the unqualified enthusiasm of the Party-member director, to the begrudging endorsement of the old-line type of employer opposed to many features of National Socialism. Several of the latter seemed to feel that many firms in Germany with advanced social standards had for years been giving their workers many of the benefits of Strength through

Joy

Joy, particularly in the way of sport and factory entertainments, but they admitted that the travel and vacation facilities afforded today could only be put into execution by an organization such as Strength through Joy operating on a national basis. A fact elicited, which corrects the impression given by official spokesmen that Strength through Joy had taken hold from the very beginning, is that the workers in many factories are just now beginning to take part in the excursions, having been doubtful at first as to whether they would enjoy themselves. At that it would appear that the greater proportion of the excursionists are younger people and employees of the white collar class.

An interesting theory advanced was that some such device as Strength through Joy is perhaps necessary in view of the increased demands in the way of intensified labor processes and longer overtime being made of the German worker as a result of the high tempo of the rearmament and Four Year Plan projects. With respect to what might be called the over-organization of some excursions (which was certainly not observed, however, on the trip which the writer made, but which it is understood characterizes some other tours), some of the employers were of the opinion that this might not indeed be a disadvantage from the workers' point of view

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inasmuch as, being unaccustomed to traveling and arranging their spare time on their own initiative, they welcome being guided around and being told what to do.

It would seem that Strength through Joy costs every factory a certain amount of money, specifically in the sums which plant-owners are induced to spend on the improvement of working conditions, on the construction of sport fields and club houses, and in providing numbers of workers with free trips, or contributing to the price of these trips. An American firm employing about 3,000 workers in Germany expended, for instance, about RM 17,000 last year on Strength through Joy. The sums spent are on the whole not regarded as exorbitant, particularly as German manufacturing businesses are at present enjoying considerable prosperity, and it is explained further, that while some pressure is unquestionably exerted by the Labor Front, the latter has become more reasonable lately in its expectations. Strength through Joy may indeed be purchased as a form of penance, as it was by one firm which, after becoming involved in difficulties with the Party, bought itself back into favor by spending large amounts on workers' recreation.

Most employers apparently accept Strength through Joy as playing a definite role in industrial relations and as a factor contributing to a greater or less degree to the maintenance of indus-

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trial peace. Quite apart from their feelings with respect to National Socialism, they seem to believe that Strength through Joy is founded upon sound premises and has become an integral and permanent part of German life.

The Attitude of Private Business Toward  
Strength through Joy.

Occasion has been taken wherever possible to speak with innkeepers, sport instructors, teachers and others who have served Strength through Joy. More criticism is to be heard of the institution in these circles than perhaps in any other. In a way, however, some of the criticism may be taken as a tribute to the parsimony and lack of extravagance of Strength through Joy spending.

Innkeepers in the scenic portions of Germany have been known to complain that in the early days of Strength through Joy they were forced to take large numbers of excursionists against their will during the peak of the tourist season. This proved exceedingly burdensome, particularly as many hotels had equipped themselves to care for a better-paying class of tourist who consequently was kept away by the influx of visiting workers. The staff of a hotel which accommodates Strength through Joy must work hard, moreover, and usually

obtains



obtains little profit therefrom as the travelers have not much money to spend for tips or extras. These disadvantages seem to make themselves less felt in the case of private families who receive occasional Strength through Joy boarders.

Officials of the organization admit that at the beginning there arose many difficulties and misunderstandings. They state that now, however, arrangements better serving the mutual interests of all parties concerned have been worked out, and in particular that in big tourist centers certain days only have been set aside for Strength through Joy visits. They explain that Strength through Joy has thus limited its excursions to these more popular centers and is seeking, in so far as possible, to divert its traffic to less well-known but equally beautiful districts. They point to the success they have had in opening up the hitherto little visited district of the Emsland on the Dutch border. They claim, moreover, that they have rendered hotelkeepers generally a great service in prolonging the tourist season beyond its ordinary limits, inasmuch as the program of Strength through Joy excursions extends from the beginning of May and lasts well into October.

As regards other private individuals who work for Strength through Joy, the sport teachers, to name one category, feel that they more than earn

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the small fees granted them. One of the difficulties which places a particular strain upon them is the tendency of the pupils, particularly the women, to stand around and exchange gossip in place of devoting proper attention to the courses. Professional teachers called in to assist with popular educational work seem to face much the same obstacles.

The Workers' Attitude Toward  
Strength through Joy.

The attitude towards Strength through Joy of the masses for whom it is intended is a difficult problem to discuss in detail in view of the varied composition of the aggregate body of workers. The conclusions set forth on this score have been derived from the writer's conversations with his companions on the trip to Helgoland, as well as from incidental contacts he has made with other workers.

As regards the achievements of Strength through Joy on the whole, it should be admitted at the very first that quite apart from official claims, the organization must be judged a success if only by virtue of the fact that Strength through Joy excursions are to be met with everywhere in Germany during the travel season. If the institution were a

failure

failure it probably would cease to be patronized.

The two criticisms most frequently heard of Strength through Joy trips are that they are too strenuous and too overcrowded, and it is known definitely that these objections have served to keep many workers away. The consensus of opinion is that the shorter trips, as well as the longer journeys which cover a great deal of territory, are indeed strenuous and overcrowded. On the other hand, it is pointed out that most of the travelers who chose these excursions are young, that they enjoy visiting places they have never seen, and that companionship between people of the same age relieves to some extent the strain of crowding. An elderly person seeking rest may find it on a visit to a seaside resort where he is lodged in a private house and is left pretty much to himself. If such a person opts for a strenuous excursion and is dissatisfied, it is held to be his own fault, and he will probably be better advised to choose another type of vacation next year. Thus, it is pointed out, the question resolves itself in the last analysis into that of choosing the type of excursion which best conforms to one's personal tastes.

The long sea voyages are regarded as particularly enjoyable and indeed this opinion is confirmed

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by several foreign journalists who made the trip to Norway and who have stated that everybody seemed to have a thoroughly good time (and that curiously enough very little propaganda was purveyed to the travelers). It has been noted, however, that several workers have spoken of these trips somewhat wistfully as being beyond their means.

The workers' remarks on this point would seem to raise the question as to what degree Strength through Joy has been really successful in benefiting the every-day laborer for whom it is supposed to have been created. From an absolute standard, Strength through Joy prices are exceedingly low and it would be difficult to conceive of any further reduction being granted without changing the whole basis of operation and thus necessitating a larger subsidy from the Labor Front. Each excursion is open to the worker who has the means to pay for it. At the same time, however, it is doubtful whether a married worker earning as much as RM 50 per week (a good salary in Germany) could afford for himself, without his wife, more than one trip a year costing much over RM 15, the price of one of the shorter week-end excursions. The conclusion may perhaps be drawn that, marvelous as the organization Strength through Joy may be, and perfectly adapted as it is to the situation of the lower middle classes (particularly the office employee group),

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it has not yet succeeded in extending the maximum benefits of long-range travel to the real workers. The provision of free journeys by such devices as a "pfennig-fund" raffle is no solution of the problem, any more than is the granting of free trips on the basis of meritorious (and possibly political) service, inasmuch as this expedient can only include a small proportion of the workers of a particular plant during a given year. The fault for this state of affairs would seem to lie rooted in the general economic structure rather than with Strength through Joy which seems to extract the maximum opportunities from the facilities at its disposal.

With the exception of the longer excursions noted above, the other activities of Strength through Joy are well within the range of means of the ordinary worker. The theater entertainments, sport and educational facilities are offered at minimal prices, whereas the drives for the improvement of working conditions cost the laborer nothing at all. For the organizers the problem presents itself chiefly in the form of devising new and attractive programs, and these the National Socialists, with their highly developed instinct of popular appeal, have been immensely successful in doing. Incidentally, being curious as to whether the workers were particularly grateful to National

Socialism

Socialism for affording the advantages of Strength through Joy, the writer has at various times put this question. With the exception of the confirmed Party adherents, most of the workers seemed to take Strength through Joy as a matter of course, regarding it less as an adjunct of National Socialism than as a sort of travel bureau and impersonal agency which they felt free to praise or criticize in the light of their own individual experience

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There can be little doubt but that Strength through Joy has become an important force in present-day German life. By virtue alone of the vast sums of money it sets into motion it has become a national economic factor, while socially and politically it is yielding returns in giving pleasure to large numbers of the masses and in helping unite the country psychologically by furthering acquaintance and exchanges of impressions between hitherto highly differentiated provincial peoples. As an institution now so enormous that the worker can hardly avoid contact with some form of its activity within or outside of his factory, Strength through Joy seems indeed to have achieved a totalitarianism of its own which at the same time reflects and subtly promotes that of the National Socialist Party which created it. Strength through Joy does indeed seem to offer the worker a surplus value over and above his real wages, as Dr. Ley was quoted as saying at the beginning of this report. Whether or not this is done from an entirely clear motive or for the ulterior purpose of diverting demands for higher wages perhaps admits of some debate. In this connection the following general index figures given on page 43 of the semi-annual report of the REICHS-KREDIT-GESELLSCHAFT with respect to average net weekly wages during certain key years are interesting: 1929 - RM 39.5; 1932 - RM 26.3; 1937 - RM 31.2. National Socialists look upon Strength through Joy as in part compensating for the wage decrease shown in a comparison of the averages for the

years



years 1929 and 1937. This decrease affects primarily the unskilled worker, for, as has been noted previously, many workers in the skilled and semi-skilled categories are earning more money owing to overtime labor and owing to their transfer to higher wage groups.

Although it can by no means be claimed that Strength through Joy has given a final answer, it nevertheless has at least raised the question as to whether a worker would really derive more enjoyment from a wage increase which he might spend foolishly (even though the right to do so might give him some satisfaction), than he would in spending a part of his savings upon a trip or form of entertainment tried and tested by an organization which specializes, and is experienced, in arranging the workers' spare time in a manner found to offer the most pleasure to people of his class. National Socialists emphasize particularly that Strength through Joy is introducing a new relationship between the industrial worker and the community whereby the former, fully conscious of his responsibilities to the community, looks to the latter to furnish him a surplus value.

With respect to the point as to whether an organization similar to Strength through Joy would prove successful in other countries, an examination must first be made of the causes which make the institution workable in Germany. In brief, two factors

seem

seem to be primarily important: first, the National Socialist system of government and, secondly, the nature of the German people. Without the Labor Front there would be no Strength through Joy, and without the Party, no Labor Front. The Party furnishes the organization upon which is grafted that of the Labor Front, and in addition provides the necessary authority to carry through all projects officially endorsed by the latter. While Strength through Joy seeks arrangements with private enterprises as mutually profitable to both as possible, there nevertheless exists little doubt that it can usually accomplish what it wishes in the way of hiring specific facilities or improving working conditions in particular factories.

This should not perhaps be taken to mean that an institution such as Strength through Joy would be impossible to operate in other countries lacking an authoritarian basis, although it is obvious that the existence of such authority greatly simplifies and expedites its work. It is learned, incidentally, that the Hungarian Government is considering introducing an adaptation of Strength through Joy and it should be interesting to observe how the procedure may be modified to a somewhat different form of government than the National Socialist.

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With respect to the clientele of Strength through Joy, the German lower and middle classes are disciplined, exceedingly gregarious and usually blissfully content with the very little that they possess or that is offered them. Never having had anything like Strength through Joy excursions before, and lacking the means to tour the country by automobile, they have developed a new delight in travel and are willing to put up with many discomforts on their journeys. An additional stimulus to travel is of course the ideal nature of Germany as a tourist country in that variegated and beautiful scenic districts lie within comparatively easy reach of each other and of the big cities and manufacturing centers. Despite National Socialist attempts at "democratization," class distinctions still remain very strong in Germany, and while the worker is told that he is being afforded the privileges of the rich in Strength through Joy, he is left in no doubt that these privileges are presented to him in a form appropriate to his station, and he consequently does not expect many luxuries. In an individualistic environment a Strength through Joy movement might possibly have to be kept free from this tinge of "proletarianism" and be made to construct its appeal upon the values it was capable of offering universally, or at least on a broader basis than is now the case in Germany.

JDB: EM